

DEVELOPING THE CULTURAL HERITAGE SECTOR IN BELARUS

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Table of Contents

Summary	4
Introduction and research methodology	5
A brief overview of the cultural heritage sector in Belarus	8
The scope of cultural heritage and related activities	8
The State as the main regulator and trendsetter	8
State cultural institutions.....	10
Civil society organisations	11
External organisations and trends influencing the development of the sector	11
Five main problems and challenges for the sector	12
Heritage as an engine for social development	13
The main European trends in work with the social potential of cultural heritage...	13
The work of Belarusian civil society heritage associations.....	14
Opportunities for self-realisation of heritage-related initiatives	16
Heritage communities and features of their engagement.....	19
Mobilising potential of heritage	21
Social inclusion through heritage	21
Conclusions	24
Heritage as a driver of economic development	26
An overview of the main European ideas on developing the economic potential through heritage.....	26
Cultural heritage as a driver of city and regional development in Belarus	27
Intersectoral cooperation in heritage-related projects.....	29
Heritage-related entrepreneurship	31
Heritage as a mean of fundraising	32
Conclusions	35
Heritage as a source for cultural development	38
European trends in developing culture's potential through heritage	38
Belarusian heritage in the context of interregional, intercultural and intergenerational dialogue.....	39
Raising the standards and diversity of cultural life	40
Conclusions	41
General conclusions and recommendations	44
Actions required to realise the potential of heritage in Belarus	44
Recommendations to the EU to support the main actors of the heritage sector in Belarus with the aim of realising its full potential.....	46
Appendix 1: Cultural heritage-related projects implemented in Belarus since 2011 within the framework of the Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus Cross-Border Cooperation Projects 2011–2013 and the Poland, Belarus and Ukraine Cross-Border Cooperation Projects 2007–2013.....	50
Appendix 2: Questionnaires used for interviewing the various heritage actors	57

Summary

This report aims to provide an overview of the cultural heritage sector in Belarus and identify the most important areas of its development, taking into account the interests of local actors and latest European approaches. According to them, heritage should primarily be used to develop the social, economic and cultural domains, improve the quality of life and foster the competitiveness of cities and regions. This report identified the following actors working in heritage: state bodies, state cultural institutions (including museums), restorers and urban planners, NGOs and informal initiatives and commercial companies. The report is based on more than 30 interviews with experts and research trips to Minsk, Hrodna, Brest, Mstislav, Nesvizh, and Ashmyany. Data from open sources was used extensively.

The report is structured around the overall potential of heritage in three domains:

- **Social:** Key actors of the sector in Belarus have succeeded in implementing relevant best practice (working with heritage communities, stimulating and supporting grassroots initiatives, social inclusion and mobilisation). A trend towards decentralisation of heritage management has emerged with the adoption of the Culture Code in 2016. Networks for disseminating methods and exchanging information have been created both among NGOs and among state institutions (but not between the two). The wide network of state cultural institutions that have established relations with the public is noteworthy.

At the same time, most organisations (both non-governmental and governmental) use a top-down approach, and their events bear an educational and even a didactic character. Regional organisations do not have the resources to create quality projects, and they require methodological assistance. Their work needs to be endowed with additional meanings that are relevant to development goals. Frequent conflicts occur between grassroots initiatives and executive power bodies, grassroots initiatives and business, and grassroots initiatives and restorers.

- **Economic:** Belarus has successfully used heritage as a tool for developing its towns and territories (Nesvizh, Halshany and Brest). There are examples of successful businesses, effective inter-sectoral cooperation (primarily in ecotourism and agrotourism) and receipt of grant (sponsor) funds. The best practice listed in this report demonstrates the existence of experts and professionals who have experience in dealing with new, non-traditional challenges.

However this is only the beginning. In most cases inclusion of heritage in economic relations are based on very simple models such as providing services to tourists and selling souvenirs. More complex strategies are rarely used. The potential of heritage for the economy is only beginning to be realised now. A large part of investment into preservation is made intuitively without a developed methodology for validating results. The development of entrepreneurship and other economic indicators are not monitored. Work with heritage remains to be seen to a large extent as “charity” rather than as an investment.

- **Cultural:** Work with heritage in Belarus is part of ensuring citizens' access to culture. Heritage-related projects contribute to strengthening of local identity, promoting development/self-development and expanding worldviews. The study of local and national heritage is included in curricula in schools, secondary and higher educational institutions. Addressing to heritage, especially in small towns, is one of the few possibilities to engage creatives in the cultural process.

Nevertheless, heritage in Belarus remains a personal hobby/interest or a means of satisfying academic curiosity, and a backdrop for entertainment, instead of fulfilling its numerous unifying and developing functions. Heritage is often

something to pay ritual tribute, without real appropriation or re-thinking. The recognised intangible heritage is predominantly mono-ethnic, traditional and rural.

Based on a comprehensive analysis of the situation, the report sets forth both general actions necessary for increasing the effectiveness of heritage use, and specific goals for each of the three impacted domains individually; provides mechanisms most pertinent for Belarus for achieving these goals; defines key indicators of progress. The final part presents the author's recommendations for working with the sector's main actors for sector development.



SKOKI, 2015, Malejka

Introduction and research methodology

Heritage is not a thing. Heritage is a process. It means a constant choice between values that must be made every second.¹

The report aims to provide an overview of the cultural heritage sector in Belarus and to identify the most important areas of its development, taking into account both latest European approaches to working with heritage and interests of local actors.

In this report heritage is considered as a set of values objectified in a wide range of manifestations, tangible and intangible ones. **Heritage is what communities themselves agree to regard as such.**

Areas of the development of the sector refer to not so much the improvement of the situation through protection and popularisation but to the possibility to use the **potential of heritage to develop the social, economic and cultural domains, i.e. improve the quality of life and** foster the competitiveness of cities and regions. There are already some steps being taken in that direction in Belarus.

Restoration and preservation of heritage in Belarus are today a constant source of conflict. It is necessary to develop tools for cultural policies that would contribute to overcoming these conflicts. Heritage should move away from being a source of conflict and diversion of funds to becoming a tool for achieving unity and generating various benefits.

Heritage protection, rehabilitation and use attract large groups of stakeholders. For the purposes of the report, it was convenient to identify the following categories of actors:

- **State bodies;**
- **State cultural institutions (including museums);**
- **Restorers and urban planners;**
- **NGOs and informal initiatives;**
- **Commercial companies.**

Methodology

The structure of this study is based on the approaches used in the Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe² project as outlined in its final report in 2015. Its authors³ identified a shift in heritage-related issues from discussing them purely from the perspective of cultural studies, historical and artistic themes to tackling pragmatics of sustainable development, and raised the issue of producing new research on the impact of heritage on society. Central to this was the statement on the contribution of heritage to the sustainable development of modern cities and regions. If so, it is no longer sufficient to protect and rehabilitate heritage. The new situation lays down new requirements for working with it.

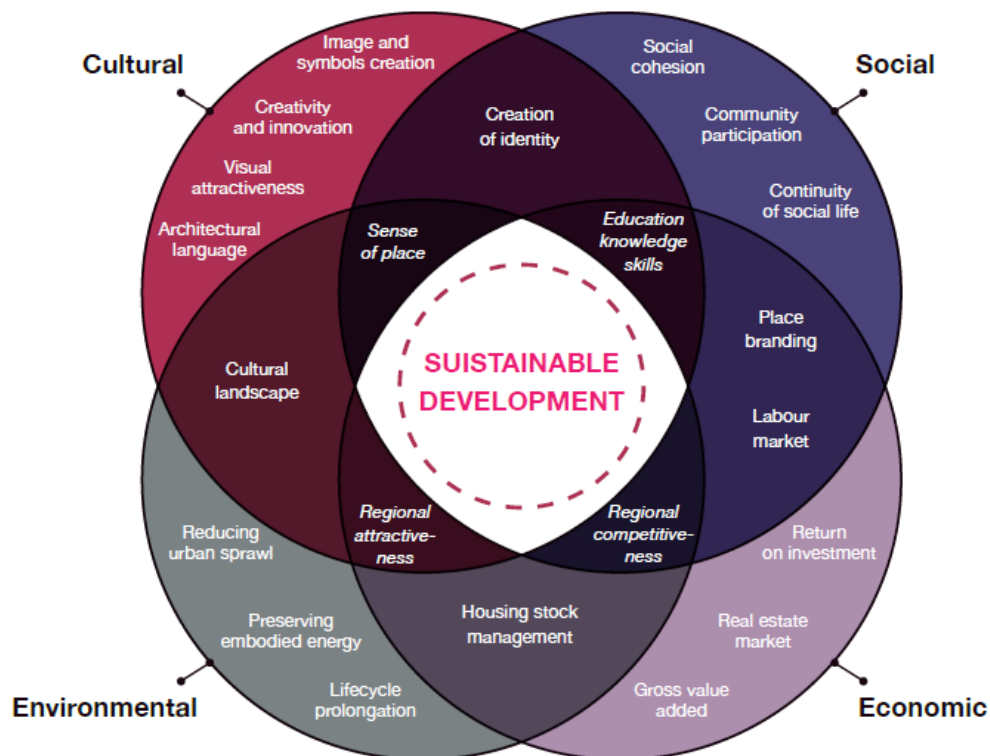
The authors of this report have used the following diagram⁴ as a guide:

¹ Interview no. 8. In this report all interviews have been encrypted with numbers for ethical reasons.

² Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (Full report). Krakow: CHCfE Consortium, International Cultural Centre, 2015. p. 297

³ The project was delivered by the experts of Europa Nostra, the European Association of Historic Towns and Regions, the European Network on Cultural Management and Cultural Policy Education (ENCATC), International Cultural Centre (Krakow, Poland), The Heritage Alliance (UK) and the Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation at the University of Leuven (Belgium).

⁴ Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (Full report). Krakow: CHCfE Consortium, International Cultural Centre, 2015. p. 17.



The diagram maps the relation of heritage to the various spheres of life of a society and their intersections. The goal of modern projects relating to heritage should be enhancing the impact of heritage on all four domains.

The overall potential of heritage in the structure of the report on Belarus is divided into three main pillars:

- **The social capacity:** strengthening of social ties
- **The economic capacity:** developing services and infrastructure due to the increase of the number of tourist visits; development of construction and crafts; strengthening inter-sectoral relations and attracting investments;
- **The cultural capacity:** launching cultural initiatives at the local and national levels, and increasing cultural capital

The environmental impact has not been examined because this approach to heritage is still too new for Belarus, despite the existence of European and US research on this topic. Comprehension of this pillar remains as a goal for the future.

In accordance with the three domains, five questionnaires were developed for heritage experts, museum professionals, businessmen, public servants, and NGO activists working with heritage (See Appendix 2). Using these questionnaires, and within the framework of two research trips, more than 30 interviews were conducted in Minsk, Brest, Hrodna, Mstislav, Nesvizh and Ashmyany with public servants, heads and activists of NGOs and informal initiatives, directors and employees of museums, houses of culture and creativity, restorers, and representatives of the tourism business and the creative industries. The interview aimed to collect data on the processes and trends of interest to the author that are taking place in Belarus and to identify gaps and necessary measures to improve the situation in all three domains of heritage use.

In the preparation of the report, the author used data from open official sources describing the current state of the sector, media publications covering various practice and the results of previous studies conducted by the author: *The concept of “architectural heritage” in the post-modern era: a comparative cultural*

and anthropological study of two regions in Ukraine and Belarus (2012–2013)⁵; Transformation of cultural landscapes of Belarusian towns during the preparation for the “Dazhynki” harvest festival (2012–2013)⁶; Restoration of Belarusian castles as a cultural and social project (2014)⁷.

The research and the final report has the following limitations:

- When preparing this report it was difficult to clearly distinguish and separate direct work with heritage from common cultural, social, and economic activities. Therefore in this paper in many cases heritage sites or elements are not the main focus but turns out to be incorporated into a complex system of actors' relations;
- The report does not investigate conflict situations relating to the protection and restoration of cultural heritage; conflicts of interests between actors and politically-motivated confrontations in Belarus;
- The report does not examine the problem of neglect of many architectural heritage sites in Belarus; the disdain of citizens for national heritage; examples of destruction of authentic constructions and methodologically improper restoration of sites;
- Specific examples in the report are provided as striking illustrations of positive and negative trends and practices, and not as an exhaustive list. Moreover in most cases they are limited to the cities visited during the trips undertaken for preparing the report.



RUZANY, 2009, Malejka

⁵ Стурэйка С. Экспертны і абывацельскі погляды на спадчыну. Ці пераадольнае непаразуменне? // Горад Святога Губерта: альманах лакальнай гісторыі. Выпуск 9 (2014) / рэдкал. І. Соркіна (і інш.). Гродна, 2014. С. 19-37.

⁶ Стурейко С.А., Водолажская Т.В., Галиновский Д.В., Кедрик Т.В. Отчет по исследованию “Восстановление замков как культурный и социальный проект”. Минск: ЕвроБеларусь, 2014. 59 с. (http://methodology.by/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/2014_Vosstanovleniye-zamkov.pdf)

⁷ Stureika S. Appropriation of cultural heritage by the local population on the example of Belarusian castles // The UNESCO World Heritage and the Role of Civil Society. Proceedings of the International Conference, Bonn 2015. Berlin: World Heritage Watch, 2016. pp. 110–112.

A brief overview of the cultural heritage sector in Belarus

This brief overview aims to describe the field and outline the sector's key actors. When describing them it was fundamentally important to show the opportunities and limitations in promotion of European best practises in working with heritage. The overview includes statistical data and names the most notable heritage-related organisations, institutions and activities. The overview however does not include an analysis of the technical support for heritage protection, the work of educational institutions that train personnel in this field or the methods used to preserve, rehabilitate and promote heritage.

The scope of cultural heritage and related activities

In Belarus 130 ethnic and confessional groups carry out activities relating to preservation, popularisation and development of their own cultural heritage⁸.

The historical and cultural heritage of Belarus includes 5,553 historical and cultural assets, including 5,352 tangible immovable assets, of which 1,820 are sites of architecture and urban planning, 2,263 archaeology, 62 art, 1,203 history, and 89 tangible movable assets and 112 intangible historical and cultural assets.

Belarus is present in UNESCO's World Heritage List through the Mir and Nesvizh castles, Białowieża Forest and the Struve Geodetic Arc. Intangible heritage is represented in UNESCO by the rite of the Kolyady (Christmas) Tsars. The tentative list submitted by the authorities includes several sites including Prospekt Nezalezhnosti (Independence ave.) in Minsk, the Augustow Canal (19th c.), the Tower of Kamyenets (1271–1288), and the St. Sophia Cathedral in Polatsk (1030–1060).

Restoration works have been carried out in Nesvizh Castle, Lida Castle (14th c.) and Navahrudak Castle (13th-14th cc.), conservation and rehabilitation of the ruins of the castles in Halshany (16th-17th cc.), Kreva (14th c.), Old Hrodna Castle (14th c.) in the last 10 years. Restoration works on the M. K. Oginski manor have been completed and a new museum opened in the village of Zalesie in the Smorgon district of the Hrodna region.

There were 159,674 museum artefacts registered in the State Catalogue of Museum Collections of the Republic of Belarus⁹ as of 6 March 2017.

However a significant number of historical and cultural heritage sites are in poor condition and have no functional facilities. Most cultural heritage sites lack approved protected areas. Unauthorised excavations are carried out on archaeological heritage sites. The amount of public funding for protection and restoration of historical and cultural heritage sites is overall insufficient.¹⁰

The State as the main regulator and trendsetter

The State, represented by the Ministry of Culture and the Council of Ministers of Belarus, is the main regulator of relations in cultural heritage. It lays down the procedure of allocation of funds and the target indicators for the work of state cultural institutions implementing state policy at the local level. State cultural policy revolves around **managing cultural institutions, rather than working with culture as such.**

⁸ Belarus population census 2009.

⁹ State Catalog of the Museum Fund of the Republic of Belarus // <http://www.dkmbf.by>

¹⁰ Аб выніках правядзення Года культуры ў 2016 годзе і задачах развіцця сферы культуры ў 2017 годзе // Рашэнне калегіі Міністэрства Культуры Рэспублікі Беларусь ад 08.02.2017, № 15.

In 2017 the Culture Code¹¹ came into action. It is the main document regulating state policy in culture. An integral part constituting a significant chunk of the law is the section devoted to cultural heritage.

As many other post-Soviet countries Belarus runs a classical expert-led model for the protection of cultural heritage. Protection and preservation are the dominant areas of work with heritage. These are followed by popularisation, primarily through museum display and professional cultural events.

Various collegial meetings take place to determine the development of particular heritage areas under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, such as the Belarusian Republican Scientific and Methodological Council (architectural heritage); Republican Council of Museum Directors; Republican Scientific and Methodological Council on Museum Affairs and the National Forum of Belarusian Museums.

Public participation in the management of cultural heritage has so far been limited. The Code only refers to national communities. The action of the Public Monitoring Commission on the Protection of Historical and Cultural Heritage under the Ministry of Culture¹² was of a formal nature. However the Culture Code slightly expands the possibilities of such participation. It consolidates the possibility of creating public monitoring commissions within local executive bodies. In addition monuments of regional importance can only be placed under protection after taking into account the opinion of established Regional Councils on Issues of Historical and Cultural Heritage. However the latest can only include representatives of state bodies and legal entities concerned with the protection of heritage.¹³

The main executive tool of the Ministry of Culture is adoption and implementation of state programmes. Presently “Culture of Belarus” – a major national programme is being implemented. Its *Heritage* sub-programme involves spending EUR 4.6 billion on activities related to various types of heritage by 2020.¹⁴

The main targets for this programme to achieve by 2020 are:

- increasing the number of renovated and functioning listed architectural monuments to 30% (from 15% in 2015);
- increasing the number of visitors to museums and cultural organisations by 5% compared to 2015;
- increasing the proportion of extra-budgetary funds in the total amount of financing of state cultural organisations to 26%;
- preparing at least five dossiers on heritage sites in Belarus for submission to the UNESCO World Heritage Centre;
- increasing the number of intangible heritage elements included in the state list up to 86 items;
- raising the volume of the Belarusian Museum Collections by 5% compared to 2015;
- holding at least eight festivals and holidays demonstrating the achievements of folk craft artisans per year;
- holding at least 50 cultural events with the participation of creative collectives of national cultural associations per year.¹⁵

The state programme *Castles of Belarus* was approved in 2011 for 2012–2018 covering 14 ruins of castles of varying degrees of degradation in addition to 19 archaeological sites. The programme goal is to create favourable conditions for preservation, restoration and rational use of historical and cultural heritage sites as

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Кодэкс Рэспублікі Беларусь Аб Культуры. 20 ліпеня 2016 г. № 413-3 // Национальный правовой Интернет-портал Республики Беларусь, 02.08.2016, 2/2412.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Постановление Совета Министров Республики Беларусь от 4 марта 2016 г. N 180 «Об утверждении Государственной Программы "Культура Беларуси" на 2016 - 2020 годы» // Национальный реестр правовых актов Республики Беларусь 18 марта 2016 г. N 5/41814.

¹⁵ Ibid.

well as for development of domestic and inbound tourism. The programme provides implementation of actions for preservation of historical sites and features of castles' exteriors such as silhouettes, natural surroundings and landscape. Pledged funds amount to €12.1 million.¹⁶

The *Slutsk Belts 2012–2015* state programme for the revival of technologies and traditions of making Slutsk belts and the development of the production of national souvenirs has already been implemented.¹⁷

In early 2017 the Ministry of Culture adopted decision to develop and adopt the sectoral programme *Stuff* for 2018–2022 reflecting the needs of the culture sector. The programme should be drawn up by 1 December 2017. There is also a plan to develop some regional target programmes for the preservation, study, use, popularisation and state protection of intangible heritage elements. Regional executive committees will carry this out.¹⁸

In order to develop and enrich the cultural life of the regions, step up grassroots initiatives and raise tourism in 2010 the Ministry of Culture launched the campaign *Cultural Capital of Belarus*. Previous cultural capitals are Polatsk, Gomel, Nesvizh, Mogilev, Hrodna, Brest, and Maladzyechna. Babruysk holds the title in 2017.

State cultural institutions

These institutions work with residents in towns and rural areas. Many of them also work directly with cultural assets.

In total there are 6,691 state cultural institutions in Belarus including 2,716 clubs (of which 2,296 in rural areas).¹⁹ Each district and large city has a house (centre) for crafts engaged in identification and popularisation of traditional Belarusian crafts. There are also methodology support centres for folk arts in operation.

There are 151 functioning museums in the Ministry of Culture's system. National and regional museums of local history usually function as methodology support centres for regional museums (they help create new exhibitions turnkey, from concept to labelling). In 2014 state museums received 5,848,400 visitors.

Each of the district and regional libraries has local history departments that register local publications, small-circulation literature and unpublished manuscripts. They also organise conferences and other events on local history.

The main problems facing the work of these institutions include extremely low wages, which makes jobs there to be of low status. Additional incentives for professional growth are also insufficient. This explains the lack of initiative on the part of their staff and the absence of distinct trendsetters locally. Difficulties are also created by a constantly changing management structure. In some places institutions are independent legal entities, in others they are subordinated to the Departments of Culture of regional authorities.

Museums as legal entities tend to consolidate their structures. Thus in the last five years, as a result of re-organisation, the museum network was reduced by nine units. The following institutions became branches of larger museums: The Literary Museums of Maksim Bahdanovic and Petrus Brovka joined the State Museum of the History of Belarusian Literature; the Museum of the History of the Theatrical and Musical Culture and the Nature and Environment Museum joined the National History Museum. Museums underwent reorganisation also in Mogilev,

¹⁶ 131 млрд. BYR, см.: Мерапрыемствы Дзяржаўнай праграмы «Замкі Беларусі» на 2012—2018 гады. Дадатак 1 да Дзяржаўнай праграмы «Замкі Беларусі» на 2012 — 2018 гады // <http://www.government.by/upload/docs/file2a077db17a6a598f.pdf> (доступ 20.03.2017).

¹⁷ The programme was adopted by the decision of the Council of Ministers of Belarus No. 1069 dated 22 November 2012 // Национальный правовой Интернет-портал Республики Беларусь, 05.12.2012, 5/36544.

¹⁸ Аб выніках правядзення Года культуры ў 2016 годзе і задачах развіцця сферы культуры ў 2017 годзе // Рашэнне калегіі Міністэрства Культуры Рэспублікі Беларусь ад 08.02.2017, № 15.

¹⁹ Інфармацыйныя матэрыялы аб дзейнасці сферы культуры (на 30.09.2016) // <http://kultura.by/uploads/files/dlja-sajta-Sovmina.doc> (доступ 20.03.2017).

Gomel and Hrodna regions.²⁰ Since 2001, the network of public libraries of the Ministry of Culture was reduced by 40 %.²¹ Also the Institute for Belarusian Culture – an important state institution in the system of heritage professional development and a research and methodology centre in the sphere of culture and heritage – will be attached to the Belarusian State University of Culture and Arts from 2017.²²

Civil society organisations

NGOs usually pursue their own interests and statutory goals. Their relations with state institutions are non-systematic and sporadic in nature with few exceptions.

There are more than 700 non-profit and non-governmental organisations and foundations operating in Belarus that somehow work with various forms of cultural heritage.²³ Informal initiatives, which are non-registered and carrying out mobilisation on an *ad hoc* basis (for example civil society initiatives for urban preservation) are of great importance because of the politicisation of the work of NGOs and the ensuing difficulties in registering such organisations over the past 10 years.

It is difficult to overstate the role of the public as an actor in heritage-related activities.

Umbrella organisations such as Belarusian Voluntary Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture; Association of Belarusian Guides and Translators; Belarusian Union of Masters of Folk Crafts; Belarusian civil society association *Country Escape (Otdykh v Derevne)* (farmstead owners); Belarusian Language Society; Belarusian Committee of ICOMOS and the Belarusian Committee of ICOM play an important role. The Belarusian Culture Fund has been publishing the *Local History Newspaper* since 2003, which is the core element of the local history movement in district towns. The local history movement has grown “several-fold” over the last 10 years.²⁴

The problem faced by all independent projects in Belarus in the regions is the excessive control exercised by local authorities. It is impossible to organise serious events without their consent. There is also the segmentation of the civil society i.e. not all initiative groups are recognised by the authorities, the fact which undermines joint projects.

External organisations and trends influencing the development of the sector

Cultural heritage like many other sectors in Belarus can be described as fairly impervious to external influence especially with regard to cultural trends that do not originate in the Russian-speaking world. New, important texts on heritage theory are not translated and contact with key European intellectual centres has been lost. There is an urgent need to create a Belarusian expert pool that would be integrated into the international context.

Many important concepts are absent from national legislation such as “cultural landscape”, “heritage community” and “historical city”. There is no

²⁰ Аб выніках правядзення Года культуры ў 2016 годзе і задачах развіцця сферы культуры ў 2017 годзе // Рашэнне калегіі Міністэрства Культуры Рэспублікі Беларусь ад 08.02.2017, № 15.

²¹ Роль и место библиотек в современном информационном обществе (материалы экспертного круглого стола) // <http://www.belta.by/roundtable/view/rol-i-mesto-bibliotek-v-sovremennom-informatsionnom-obschestve-827/> (доступ 20.03.2017).

²² П. 42 решения коллегии // Аб выніках правядзення Года культуры ў 2016 годзе і задачах развіцця сферы культуры ў 2017 годзе // Рашэнне калегіі Міністэрства Культуры Рэспублікі Беларусь ад 08.02.2017, № 15.

²³ Почему в Беларуси общественных организаций в 20 раз меньше, чем в Чехии? // <https://ej.by/news/sociaty/2016/07/13/pochemu-v-belarusi-obschestvennyh-organizatsiy-v-20-raz-menshe-chem.html> (доступ 20.03.2017).

²⁴ Interview no. 6.

separate legal framework for intangible heritage. European conventions on protecting cultural heritage such as the Faro Convention (2005) are not ratified.

The lack of foreign influence is particularly perceptible in the museum sector. Most of the contacts of Belarusian museums with foreign ones are limited to provincial border museums that are themselves not **beacons of ideas of contemporary museum work.**

Nevertheless some of the important agents of influence that can be singled out are UNESCO especially in view of the fact that the state shows interest in inscribing sites on the World Heritage List. However representatives of Belarus fail to make the trip to the annual UNESCO World Heritage Committee meetings and consequently prepare weak nomination dossiers.

European Heritage Days have been held in Belarus since 1993. In 2016 the Nesvizh National Historical and Cultural Museum-Reserve was awarded the Europa Nostra award in the Dedicated Service category²⁵. In 1993 Mir Castle was given the same award for renovation and restoration. More recently a fairly effective introduction of best European practice including in setting goals and methods of working with heritage, have been taking place through grant programmes and European projects (more details discussed in one of the following sections of this report).

Five main problems and challenges for the sector

1. There is no institutionalised agent in Belarus that can think about using the social, economic and cultural potentials of heritage. There is a need for both critical re-thinking of existing trends & developments and decision-making with regard to heritage management based on research rather than on ideology or even values.
2. **There is a high degree of conflict between actors over heritage: Between grassroots initiatives and executive power bodies; grassroots initiatives and business; and grassroots initiatives and restorers. It is necessary therefore to develop models for sustainable cooperation and exchange between NGOs and state institutions for a joint resolution of problems relating to the sector's development.**
3. Work with heritage is still perceived as "charitable" or as a social and cultural obligation. **Heritage is not recognised as a driver of the development of territories, with great potential for inter-sectoral cooperation.** It is necessary to make ways of including heritage in economic relations more sophisticated and diversify them and to enrich rehabilitation/museum projects with goals aiming for economic and social development.
4. There are evidences of vestiges of paternalistic Soviet models of heritage protection. It is necessary to further develop civil society and state partnerships, and build the capacity of regional civil society organisations and government institutions to a level that would allow the generation of quality heritage-related projects, relevant to development goals; work with specific heritage communities and take into account their opinions; depart from the edifying nature of most activities relating to the discussion of the cultural heritage issue; promote social inclusion.
5. **Intangible cultural heritage in Belarus is predominantly mono-ethnic, traditional and rural. The heritage of other ethnic groups and the heritage urban cultures are underrepresented. It is necessary to diversify heritage and to use it for the development of the interregional, intercultural and international exchange.**

²⁵ Историко-культурный музей-заповедник "Несвиж" удостоен приза "Европа Ностра-2016" // <http://www.belta.by/culture/view/istoriko-kulturnyj-muzej-zapovednik-nesvizh-udostoen-priza-evropa-nostra-2016-188911-2016/> (доступ 20.03.2017).

Heritage as an engine for social development

The main European trends in work with the social potential of cultural heritage

Sustainability and participation are the two concepts that are relevant in terms of the social dimension of culture today. Both pertain to specific communities²⁶.

Intellectuals and researchers, such as Gregory Ashworth, Laurajane Smith, David Brett, Krzysztof Kowalski, Rodney Harrison, Dominique Poulot and Nathalie Heinich are increasingly focusing on the need to move away from an expert-led model in monuments conservation to the needs of specific local communities. Previously only professionals and experts (restorers, archaeologists and art critics) could lead such communities. Interest in heritage was the prerogative of the social elite.

The Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society was signed in Faro, Portugal on 27 October 2005. Its main achievement is the introduction of the concept of “heritage community”, which “consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of social action, to sustain and transmit to future generations”²⁷. For the first time the right of communities to participate in heritage management was not just stated, but also enshrined. The new community-oriented rhetoric is increasingly appearing in international documents and expert speeches.

The name of one of Prince Charles’s charitable trusts is telling: The Prince’s Foundation for Building Community²⁸. Its areas of work include using traditional building techniques to develop communities. The role of experts consists solely of providing the methodology and the infrastructure for the process.

Such initiatives have already reached Eastern Europe. The Lviv City Council and the German Federal Enterprise for International Cooperation (GIZ) commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development in Germany, are implementing a project to restore the balconies, doors and windows of Lviv’s historical houses with the participation of residents. Without the participation of local communities (even if they have to be activated for that purpose) the project cannot exist. Property owners pay 30% of the cost of works (the rest is sponsored by the German party) and the restoration is carried out by local artisans who have undergone training in Germany.²⁹

The instrumentalisation of heritage through the implementation of grant programmes that focus on communities dealing with heritage is a significant component of the development of civil society in EU countries.³⁰ Heritage in this case provides the context for social interaction.

Another aspect of social value is that heritage contributes to consolidation of community’s functions, which over time can develop into its inalienable asset. Also heritage consolidates patterns of behaviour and affects the values scale of communities.³¹

²⁶ For more details: Purchla J. Cultural Heritage and Social Capital // The 1st Heritage Forum of Central Europe. Ed. by Jacek Purchla. Krakow: International Cultural Centre, 2012. pp. 71–77.

²⁷ Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro, 2005) // <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=0900001680083746> (Accessed on 20 March 2017).

²⁸ Prince’s Foundation for Building Community // <http://www.princeofwales.gov.uk/the-prince-of-wales/the-princes-charities/the-princes-foundation-building-community> (Accessed on 12 April 2016).

²⁹ Municipal Development and Restoration of the Old Part of Lviv City. Programme for the Restoration of Doors // <http://www.urban-project.lviv.ua/ua/gtz-projects/restavracyia-pamyatok-architektury/programa-po-restavratsiyi-dvory> (Accessed on 12 April 2016).

³⁰ Kowalski K. O istocie dziedzictwa europejskiego — rozważania. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2013. S. 11.

³¹ Worthing D., Bond S. Managing Built Heritage: The Role of Cultural Significance. Wiley-Blackwell, 2008. p. 66.

Communities have been also placed at the centre of the concept of cultural landscape. Thus sustainability of cultural landscapes inevitably raises the issue of the participation of local residents.

The participation of communities involves various forms of organisation such as joint discussions, participant studies, common activities, engagement of all stakeholders in the decision-making and planning process and demonstration of new opportunities.

The key for communities' participation is the mechanism for accounting their positions.³² A clear definition of the goal of their participation is required to create this mechanism, and then on one hand changing the principles of carrying out restoration projects and on the other changing the principles of decision-making at the management level.

Improperly managed restoration can catalyse conflicts between and within communities. Minimising costs and balancing interests is the task of development experts. Organising restoration based on principles of social inclusion is resources-demanding undertaking in terms of time and money. However this is the only way to implement social, economic and other effects of heritage projects.

The work of Belarusian civil society heritage associations

The largest civil society associations active in heritage at the national level are:

- The Belarusian Voluntary Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture. It is the most famous and oldest organisation active in heritage. In the 2000s, the organisation worked on the memorialisation of places of remembrance of Stalinist era repressions. Starting at the end of 2007 it has been developing proposals for the reconstruction of historical centre of Minsk. Starting in 2010 with the establishment of the Society's architecture section there was a transition from public and awareness projects to "professional" ones. It managed to introduce changes and additions to the project of the detailed planning of the historical centre of Minsk; proposals on reforming of corresponding heritage legislation; agree at the level of master plan the concept for the restoration of the Jewish neighbourhood in Mogilev. In parallel, the development of proposals for conferring the status of a historical and cultural objects to architectural sites has been underway. In the regions a series of seminars was held on the development of proposals to inscribe sites on the State Protection list. However, with the exception of Hrodna they were ineffective.
- The project of the Belarusian Culture Fund "My Family, My Homeland" (*Moy Rod, Moya Rodina*) to boost the study of family genealogy has been in implementation already for 13 years. Every month, special presentations of districts' local history researches with the participation of the National Library are held in various Minsk museums.
- The work of the History Workshop started in 2002 by the International Association for Education and Exchange Dortmund, IBB Minsk, and the Union of Belarusian Jewish Organisations and Communities. It revolves primarily around ethical themes: anti-totalitarianism, anti-Semitism, etc. The organisation publishes the results of its own research projects and personal accounts of war crimes witnesses; collects archival materials and corresponding researches; organises seminars, conferences and oral history clubs.
- The youth association "*Gistoryka*" (Historiana) founded in 2000 is engaged in a wide range of research, organisational and popularisation projects.

³² Urban Renewal Participation Experiments: Heralds of a New Democracy? Ed. by N.J.M. Nelissen. Council of European Municipalities, Dutch Section, 1982. p. 19.

Most organisations focus on specific types of heritage. The Belarusian Committee of ICOMOS restores and popularises the heritage of Ashmyany; Kreva Castle Fund that of Kreva and Lubcha Castle Fund are engaged in the restoration of castles in their small towns. There are organisations and initiatives specialising in popularising Belarusian ethnic culture such as the Students' Ethnographic Association and "Speyny Skhod" (Singing meeting), using new forms of audience engagement and mainstreaming folklore for youth in the urban environment. The organisation "Otdykh v derevne" (Country Escape) works on developing a sustainable network of farmstead owners.

All of these organisations are coordinated out of the Minsk even if they operate in regions. This shows the centripetal nature of relations inside Belarus. At the same time each of the regional centres has local organisations whose work covers a much wider range of heritage:

- "Gruntoynya" in Brest organises guided tours, an open-air events and temporary exhibition in 2016 for the 270th anniversary of the birth of Tadeusz Kosciuszko and the 450th anniversary of the Brest Voivodeship. From time to time they also hold presentations and concerts for cultural professionals from Minsk, creative workshops, collective board games, language course and film screenings.
- "Vitebsk4Me" in Vitebsk works on strengthening of local identity and using for that purpose a wide range of modern methods of cultural management.
- Both informal initiative "Varshtat Idey" (Workshop of Ideas) and Hrodna Regional Public Association of Young Scholars VIT popularise the heritage of Hrodna and deals with a wide range of historical topics.

The number of regional cultural initiatives is growing. There are many knighthood clubs across the country. Initiatives dealing with heritage have gained more visibility recently. Their work reveals a trend in edutainment and is becoming more specialised.

Organisations are divided into those that are focusing on the public's interest as such, and those promoting their own values and ways of thinking about heritage. The first category works with the past because it is also the part of modern cultural process. They like to collaborate with environmentalists and urbanists – two fashionable informal movements.

The representatives of the second category notes society's increased attention to topics relating to local heritage, history and ethnic culture. "People are not ready for contemporary art. They did not understand the contemporary photography exhibition. The heritage theme turned out to be much more accessible."³³

Opportunities for cooperation with state institutions have expanded lately in view of the economic crisis and the need for state structures to become financially viable, therefore, cooperation is often of a business transaction. "They allow the exhibition to be held, but you have to pay for renting the space. You can hold a museum event, but the museum will charge admission fees. There are examples."³⁴

Organisations can also be divided into two types according to the quality of their stated goals.

Most initiatives focus on popularisation, research and conferring a protected status to heritage sites. Using the heritage potential is realized in tourism plane, but rather on declarative level. The activists' central argument often becomes the development of tourism even if they don't really deal with tourism.

The traditional operation methods of European NGOs and the possibility of influencing those officials are ineffective in this case since Belarusian legislation imposes restrictions on mass public events and obtaining grant assistance. Also, Belarusian local authorities are not elected officials. In this case organisations can

³³ Interview no. 25.

³⁴ Ibid.

either put forward semi-professional proposals for heritage preservation or organise advocacy campaigns of little success.

The other group of organisations, which remain in the minority work on developing the social imagination and social responsibility, try to take heritage to a new level of perception by local communities, and work with values rather than monuments as such. For them a project on heritage is only good when it is designed to re-think the past and incorporate it into the existing context, i.e. to enrich modernity. At the same time “the sustainability of cultural practice and preservation activities are achieved through the creation of strong artistic images, and not new norms or scientific works.”³⁵

The choice between strategies is based on the organisation’s access to financial and intellectual resources. There is a shortage of both in the regions.

Opportunities for self-realisation of heritage-related initiatives

The emergence of grassroots initiatives in Belarus is slow because of the general context of social and political life of the country. It consists mostly from young people. Often it is transferred experience with successful examples from the capital and abroad being reproduced. A critical mass of initiative-taking citizens with European degrees is gradually growing in the regions. These are mainly people who were children in the 1990s or the 2000s. The development of social media has had a great influence on them. They inevitably face the need to seek external support in the case of self-engagement. They can receive assistance from both state cultural institutions and NGOs.

The National History Museum (Minsk) works fairly actively with external initiatives such as collectors; popularisers of Belarusian cuisine; community of young Belarusian documentary filmmakers and many others. Roughly 50% of events in the museum’s annual plan is initiated from outside the museum. This figure includes not only grassroots initiatives, but also state and diplomatic institutions, commercial proposals, Polish Institute and Goethe Institut. The museum tries to “add weight” to any external project with the display of its own items allowing more detailed development of topics and the opening of collections. The museum provides the infrastructure and helps in organisation. A notable successful project is “*Belkinaleta*” (summer screenings of films in the museum’s courtyard).³⁶ The museum courtyard functions as a platform for social projects during the whole summer.

The National Art Museum (Minsk) works with civil society organisations such as the Belarusian Republican Youth Union; University of the Third Age; the club of young poets “*Litaraturnaje Pradmescie*” (Literary Suburb) (poetry readings in the museum café); collectors; Union of Philatelists and music collectives.

The Literary Museum of Petrus Brovka (Minsk) cooperates with the *textura.by* web-portal (“materialisation of the young writers’ works in the museum space). Since 2013 museum has established good relations with the residents of the building housing by giving them free access to all events.

The Brest Regional Local History Museum cooperates with music collectives and clubs such as vintage car fans; radio enthusiasts (they organised an exhibition of radio stations and demonstrated how to work with them); private structures and civil society organisations; collectors; Union of Artists; Military-Historical Club. The museum took part in the organisation of events for the 350th anniversary of the local mint, which was initiated by local historians. The museum is proud of its Museum Week project. A monthly museum event is held in one of its branches, including Tuesday for the Curious, Middle Ages Wednesday, Trendy Thursday, Musical Friday, Environmental Saturday and Family Sunday.³⁷ However, mostly museum itself initiates cooperation with the public. “The museum itself determines

³⁵ Interview no. 8.

³⁶ “*Белкіналета-2016*” // <http://histmuseum.by/by/news/509/> (доступ 20.03.2017).

³⁷ Interview no. 24.

what it needs, and seeks partners³⁸. The same situation exists in many other regional museums. In the regions there are far fewer initiative communities and civil organizations.

In regional centres work with civil society associations bears an even more pronounced official character. In the absence of initiatives state cultural institutions try themselves to organise various kinds of associations working with heritage. Regional cultural institutions have on average 8 folk ensembles per institution (the number is considered as their efficiency indicator according to officials).

The Mstislav House of Crafts was created in 2005 to bring artisans together; provide them with an organisational platform and a place for the official sales and exhibitions; establish research and pedagogy work (children's hobby groups) and ensure communication with other regions. The "Zhyvi, Glubinka" (Long Live Inland!) project was launched with the aim of finding the characteristic attributes of local crafts and building a regional identity. The project focuses on public surveys; engagement of school museums and search for old household items. In 2016 they also undertake a search of new artisans who were not a part of the general communication until then. Twenty people were found and they created their own exhibitions in the House.

The Pottery Centre created in the Haradnaya village in Stolin District upholds the traditions of pottery production with authentic elements. There are hobby groups such as "Clay Toy" and "Young Potter" and an exhibition hall, displaying a museum exhibition with more than 200 exhibits created during the International Potters' Plein Air³⁹.

The non-governmental sector also contributes to the development of initiatives. The goal of the European Commission's CHOICE project (Cultural Heritage: Opportunity for Improving Civic Engagement)⁴⁰ was precisely the institutional support of formal and informal civil society associations active in heritage. Sixty applications were submitted from all Belarusian regions from non-formal initiatives and organisations to take part in the project's competition. Twelve projects received support. Each initiative organised events to present the results in addition to achieving the project's goals.

NGOs try to become hubs and be resource centres for local grassroots initiatives. So far, this has only been created in big cities. The most notable ones working with heritage are *Y Gallery* (Minsk); *Gruntoynya*, *Dzedzich*, *Prastora KKh* (all three in Brest); *Vitebsk4Me* (Vitebsk); *Kola* (Mogilev) and *Tsentr Garadskoga Zhytstsya* (Hrodna).

Thus heritage-related initiatives are mainly concentrated and supported in large cities. In smaller ones they are mainly supported by state cultural institutions but this is predominantly done using old standards within the framework of educational activities or classical heritage protection barely using new methods of social work and cultural management.

³⁸ Interview no. 24.

³⁹ Справоздача аб рэалізацыі мер па захаванню нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны Беларусі за 2015 // http://livingheritage.by/Publikacyi/Report_on_the_implementation_of_the_conservation_measures_of_the_Intangible_Cultural_Heritage_of_Belarus_for_2015_.pdf (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁴⁰ CHOICE – Cultural Heritage: Opportunity for Improving Civic Engagement // http://www.alda-europe.eu/newSite/project_dett.php?ID=84 (Accessed on 20 March 2017).



Heritage communities and features of their engagement

“Heritage communities” is a fairly new and not yet common term in Belarusian practice. It is more appropriate to talk about such communities from the point of view of the barely begun process of their identification and launching.

The incentive here was Belarus joining the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2004. Belarus was among the first ten states to sign it.⁴¹ Introduction of the concept of “intangible heritage” was the key to new practice in working with specific communities that are carriers of living heritage.

The coordinating centre for Convention implementation is the Department for Scientific and Methodological Support for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Heritage at the Institute of Culture of Belarus.

The Practical Guide for Identifying Intangible Heritage⁴² developed by this institution itself encourages applicants (regional centres of folk art or culture departments of district executive committees) to identify bearers of cultural tradition as a community that ensures preservation and continuity. It provides for the listing by name of tradition bearers and those who assist them. By doing that many people identify themselves as a community for the first time. Further actions to support traditions involve first of all working with established community.

At the end of 2016 60 elements of intangible heritage were registered in the state list of historical and cultural assets, each of which presupposes the existence of community. The distribution of intangible cultural heritage across the country is uneven. The Lyelchytsy, Hlybokaye, and Hrodna districts have three registered elements each, while many districts do not have any. The process of identification is still underway.

Work with intangible heritage is conducted in the context of a predominantly Belarusian and traditional culture. Local Houses of Culture and district executive committees provide premises for rehearsals/creative work, provide transport, help with the purchase of groceries as in case of culinary traditions (during festivals). Methodology seminars are conducted twice a year for their employees. Bearers of tradition represent their own localities at various festival and fairs and promote local culture. Most of them are elderly people receiving a special assistance.

At the same time some rural communities view state registration with mistrust. For example the bearers of the rite of Varvara’s Candle in the village of Bastenovichy of the Mstislav district were afraid of the violation of the sacred essence of the rite through its “revelation” to the public. In 2012 the rite was however registered. Despite fears this contributed to its mainstreaming and attracting young people through increasing attention (even the national television filmed the rite).

There are also examples of excessive exploitation of particular registered heritage elements (for example folklore ensemble “Dubrovitsa” gave 87 concerts in 2015⁴³) or uncharacteristic use in their staging inspired by television or tourism agencies. In this regard the Institute of Culture is working on a national ethical code for the use of elements of intangible heritage.

In the case of tangible heritage a similar process of identification and capacity building of communities is proceeding at a much slower pace. Examples of external activation impact with expert support are few. This is primarily COMUS (Community-Led Urban Strategies in Historic Towns) – the joint project of Council

⁴¹ Ідэнтыфікацыя і інвентарызацыя нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны. Практычнае кіраўніцтва / А. Сташкевіч [і інш.]. Мінск: Інстытут культуры Беларусі, 2013. С. 16-17.

⁴² Ibid. p. 164

⁴³ Справаздача аб рэалізацыі мер па захаванню нематэрыяльнай культурнай спадчыны (НКС) Беларусі за 2015 г. С. 13. //

http://livingheritage.by/Publikacyi/Report_on_the_implementation_of_the_conservation_measures_of_the_Intangible_Cultural_Heritage_of_Belarus_for_2015_.pdf (доступ 20.03.2017).

of Europe and Organization of World Heritage Cities⁴⁴, implemented in the town of Mstislaw. It aims to boost the social and economic development of the old town through the development of projects for the revitalisation of cultural heritage and strengthening of local community, engaging all local stakeholders. For this purpose local communication was boosted and social ties were developed within the town. In Mstislaw communication among residents was conducted through regular meetings and surveys.

In the course of project implementation experts came across the community's weak mobilisation potential. "Only after six meetings there was a responsive reaction. People do not feel that they are participants in something, capable of influencing decision-making on urban development. However, systematic work makes it possible to stir them up."⁴⁵ As a result the project's main stakeholders became the Department for Ideology, Culture and Youth Affairs of the Mstislaw District Executive Committee and other predominantly state institutions: The Museum of History and Archaeology, District House of Crafts, Children's Art School, District Centre for Culture and Folk Art. Mstislaw civil society stakeholders were folk song collectives, the Young Guides Club, the Red Cross, the Belarusian Republican Youth Union, the local charitable foundation Revival of the Historical and Architectural Monuments of the City of Mstislaw, local branches of Belarusian Peace Foundation, Belaya Rus Union, Znanie Society and Belarusian Trade Union of the Workers of Agricultural and Industrial Complex. Also work with local private developers was activated. The output of the project became a set of ideas for further work on establishing of The National Historical and Cultural Reserve in Mstislaw and fundraising for particular restoration and conservation projects.

Another example of launching a local community is the creative project "Probing and Dreaming in Ashmyany" (*Zondazhy i mirazhy Ashmyan*) organised by Belarusian Committee of ICOMOS within the framework of the European Commission's larger-scale project CHOICE. Over the course of a year a theatrical performance devoted to the history of the city of Ashmyany was prepared.⁴⁶ At first the scenario was written with the help of schoolchildren and local historians. To create a story, they were using methods of oral history. Later children and amateur actors prepared the performance under the guidance of a professional theatre director, which was performed in the city centre on an open-air stage, and gathered several hundred viewers. The performance ended with the collective singing of the specially revived Ashmyany anthem (its text was lost until then). The project could not have taken place without the support of the local district executive committee, the school and the local history museum. It is difficult to assess its results now from the point of view of achieving its main goal, i.e. actualising a sustainable community. Nevertheless, the performance itself received a lot of enthusiastic reviews and wide acclaim.

Some non-governmental organisations and initiatives are also working on identifying and launching of local communities. For example the Lubcha Castle Fund created in 2003 set the goal to restore the local 16th-17th century castle. Despite the fact that relations with local residents are formulated in the activities of the fund quite paternalistically as "engaging the local population in the preservation and revival of the castle and its historical and cultural values"⁴⁷ in fact the fund is activating the heritage community.

Work with the community is one of the priorities of the Brest Fortress Development Foundation created in Brest in 2013.⁴⁸ The fund contributes to the consolidation and development of the community around the heritage of Brest

⁴⁴ Joint Programme Community-led Urban Strategies in Historic Towns // <http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/comus> (Accessed on 20 March 2017).

⁴⁵ Interview no. 16.

⁴⁶ Волянец Н. Необычный спектакль готовят жители Ошмян // http://grodnonews.by/category/novosti_regionov/oshmyany/news27728.html (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁴⁷ Фонд «Любчанскі замак» // <http://lubcza.by/mety-i-zadachy> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁴⁸ Фонд развития Брестской крепости // <http://www.brestheritage.by> (доступ 20.03.2017).

Fortress through the organisation of creative and scientific events in addition to engaging volunteers.

From 2013 the Tadeusz Reyten Art Community has been operating informally.⁴⁹ It mainly consists of students and intellectuals from Minsk, however, it actively works with the residents of Grushevka village (Lyakhavichy district) — the site of the Reyten family former estate.

A significant condition for the success of the work of these organisations is the establishment of amicable relations with local authorities and cultural and educational institutions. So far, the practices of work with communities used by them are not very common, they are also not always properly reflected. In all considered cases there was a strong external impact on communities; in general they do not take the initiative themselves, but act as recipients.

Mobilising potential of heritage

In general heritage-related projects and events have high mobilisation potential in Belarus. The number of volunteer camps held annually on heritage and archaeological excavation sites is evidence of this. Engaging volunteers in projects on oral history and organisation of public amenities also has great potential. The volunteer system has been sustainable and stable since the 1990s. At least 10 camps are organised each year.

The Belarusian Association of UNESCO Clubs extensively works with heritage projects.⁵⁰ During last five years volunteers associated with other organisations have renovated cemeteries in the villages of Zembin; cleaned up ruins of a cathedral and a cemetery in the village of Lenin; put up information signs next to ruins in the village of Smalyany. A large part of the restoration works on the castle in Lubcha have been completed in the course of volunteer camps. The Minsk Cycling Club helped to trace green routes in Valozhyn region. In 2017, the Belarusian Voluntary Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture became a co-organiser of three volunteer camps of 50 people each (mostly students).

The nationwide event *Guide Fest* has been held every April since 2009. During the festival volunteering guides (mostly non-professionals) provide various types of guided tours over two days. There were 106 guided tours in Minsk and 73 in other cities (in all regional centres, as well as in Hlybokaye, Maladzyechna, Barysaw, Babruysk, Budslau, Pinsk, Orsha, Krupki, Polatsk, Lida and Slutsk) as part of the event in 2016. They received over 35,000 visitors.⁵¹

In addition heritage-related themes are popular on crowdfunding platforms. One of the most popular such platforms, Talaka.by, had a section “Culture and Art”, with more than 70 active projects related to culture in March 2017. This is the most popular section of the platform. These projects do not rank first on other platforms, yet they are widely represented and cover different forms of heritage. One of the high-profile crowdfunding projects is the purchase of the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1588 for the Mogilev History Museum (in 2012, EUR 45,000 were raised). A number of private patrons is emerging.

Social inclusion through heritage

Social inclusion is a fairly new concept that is only now beginning to take hold in the work of organisations and institutions active in heritage.

In view of the general conservatism and lack of a methodological base, Belarusian museums do not carry out work with many categories of minorities

⁴⁹ Арт-суполка імя Тадэвуша Рэйтана // <http://reyten.blogspot.lt> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁵⁰ Блоги проектов // <http://www.belau.info/blogs/> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁵¹ Програма фестывалю экскурсаводов // <http://guides.by/fest/regions/> (доступ 20.03.2017).

(ethnic, religious, gender). At the same their work is beginning to cover age minorities and people with disabilities.

Increasingly more attention is being paid lately to people with disabilities. The leader in this area is the National Art Museum. Together with the HumanDoc Foundation (Warsaw), the museum is implementing a project for audio description of artworks for people with sight loss. They have already described 25 paintings and they hold guided tours in cooperation with the Belarusian Society of the Visually Impaired. They have also been involved in creating a cycle of museum audio programmes for the industrial radio society. The scientific and creative group “Miviya” helps in the production of relief paintings and tactile sculptures.⁵² The project “*Art at Your Fingertips*” is already a part of the museum’s permanent exhibition.

Together with the Society of the Hearing-Impaired, tablets have been bought to offer sign language interpretations. A project is being launched for the rehabilitation of wheelchair users through musical art performances at the museum. Inclusive festivals have been held in the museum since 2014. The last one “*ADNOlkaVY_Ya*” (Equal) was held on 3 December 2016 and implemented at the Centre for Further Education “*Vertaz*” (Sail) with the support of the Belarusian Association for Assistance to Children and Young with Disabilities and aimed to foster positive attitudes towards disabled people through art.⁵³

Other museums are also beginning to develop programmes in this area: The Museum of Yanka Kupala (Minsk) holds special classes for children with autism; all halls of the Marc Chagall Museum in Vitebsk is already audio described for visually impaired; the Literary Museum of Petrus Brovka promotes their artistic work and exhibits deviant art and the art for the visually impaired with tactile components (despite the difficulty of access for people with disabilities). Original works of art can be touched with artists’ consent. Regional museums are gradually joining this trend: The Brest Local History Museum organised a tactile sculpture exhibition.

All these programmes aim to increase accessibility of culture and to demarginalise disabled persons. Their sustainability is achieved through the dissemination of information and boosting demand for the use of project results. However the organisation is complicated by the lack of appropriate methodological training and funding.

Small and regional museums are challenged with the need to change the quality of their visitors (today they work mainly for organised groups of schoolchildren). To extend categories of visitors they organising projects for a family visits, attracting “hipsters” by organising trendy events and encounters with cultural heroes, counterculture meetings, etc. At the Brest Local History Museum special family guidebooks are sold on all sites. These can be used to walk through exhibitions, play, answer quizzes and receive a symbolic prize in the end. These guides are very popular. A quest game at the Hrodna Museum of History and Archaeology through the Old Castle has been designed with high-school and university students in mind. The National Art Museum offers a children’s workshop, *A Visit to the Paint Tube*, financed by parents’ group. This museum also holds guided tours for young offenders (sent by local social protection bodies). Also work is being carried out everywhere with nursing homes, third age universities, veterans’ organisations and children’s care homes.

⁵² Национальный художественный музей презентовал аудиогиды для инвалидов по зрению // <http://belapan.com/archive/2016/12/02/877715> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁵³ Инклюзивный фестиваль «АДНОлькаВЫ_Я» // http://www.artmuseum.by/ru/news/novosti-2016/fotootchyt-inklyuzivnyj-festival-adnolkavy_ya (доступ 20.03.2017).



BIERASCIE, 2017, Malejka

Conclusions

The key actors of the sector in Belarus already have some positive experience in realising the social potential of heritage. Relevant European best practices are present in all areas, but it is concentrated in Minsk and big cities. With the adoption of the Culture Code in 2017 a trend emerged for decentralising cultural heritage management. Networks for the dissemination of methods and information exchange have already been created among NGOs and among state institutions (but not between the two). Extensive and well-managed network of state cultural institutions has already established relations with society and some experience in working with modern European approaches in heritage-related projects. Lately state cultural institutions are in search for any opportunities to increase their financial viability and are more willing to cooperate with grassroots initiatives, among other also in development of new forms of work through them. State cultural institutions in Belarus are much more available in smaller towns, while in large cities, non-governmental initiatives work with heritage, using a greater variety of new social methods. The heritage sector as a whole is free of gender discrimination.

Nevertheless, most organisations, both governmental and non-governmental, use a top-down approach in their work. Their events are educational and even didactic. They mainly disseminate their own values, legitimised through historical and scholar references in the context of heritage. Only a few deal with specific heritage communities (many interviewed experts and professionals did not even understand the question about communities). Conflicts between grassroots initiatives and executive power bodies; grassroots initiatives and business; grassroots initiatives and restorers are frequent.

There has been a separation between governmental and non-governmental organisations. However achieving positive, sustainable results in developing the sector is impossible without the partnership of the public and the state (especially in case of regional grassroots initiatives). According to most experts regional organisations are lacking resources to generate quality heritage-related projects and they need methodological assistance. Their work can be endued with additional meanings, relevant for development goals. However they do not realise the problems themselves and therefore do not ask for help.

The main threats to the sector relate to the threats to the overall social and economic development of Belarus: depopulation of regions, excessive fragmentation of society and weak grassroots initiatives.

Objectives to all actors for a more productive use of heritage social potential:

1. Organising work with specific heritage communities – the stakeholders of individual intangible heritage elements and heritage sites. They should be identified, activated and take part in a full dialogue on the development of a region or a town in the capacity of an actor aware of his own interests rather than a passive observer. Also it is necessary to organise serious methodological assistance to emerging grassroots initiatives.
2. Developing a methodology for making decisions that are focused on communities and social groups and not experts – bearers of the traditional heritage discourse. However the role of experts should remain weighty given that decision-making by local bodies that do not have the necessary qualifications and experience can pose a threat to heritage sites.
3. A more meaningful use of the mobilising potential of heritage. Today in Belarus this potential is used on an *ad hoc* basis, not taken into account in management, meanwhile civil society mobilisation could have become the key

to the self-engagement of local communities and heritage communities from within.

4. Promulgation of international and regional examples of resolving conflicts on heritage and implementation of these methods for the conflict-free management of heritage in Belarus. Heritage should move away from being a source of social contradictions to being a means to their resolution.
5. The continuation and improvement use of heritage for the inclusion of people with disabilities, disadvantaged groups, ethnic groups, etc.; dissemination of best practice for the work of state cultural institutions and NGOs with families and retirees.

These mechanisms can help to achieve these general objectives most effectively:

1. Establish regional centres promoting best practice for realising the social potential of heritage, ensuring horizontal communication between the actors in the sector, monitoring conflicts and research on regional needs and specific local criteria for the success of heritage-related projects. Expert support and development of cultural strategies in towns and regions with reach cultural heritage.
2. Organise educational seminars and workshops on modern management and fundraising for managers/leaders/researchers in the regions, dissemination of successful practice from the Minsk and regional centres in smaller towns, development of a network and interaction between representatives of different culture sectors.
3. Stimulate citywide restoration projects with the inclusion of a wide range of stakeholders (intellectuals, creative people, business, religious communities, etc.). The examples of Mogilev, Vitebsk and Orsha on the restoration of key sites demonstrates that this contributes to the strengthening of a town's identity and the consolidation of residents.
4. Gradually introduce competition-based allocation of public funds with equal access for state cultural institutions and civil society organisations.
5. Adjust performance indicators of state cultural institutions. Comprise work with communities, other organisations and initiatives as well as number of projects on social inclusion into the performance indicators list.
6. Take public opinion into account and develop methods for public hearings on restoration/revitalization of monuments and reconstruction of historical centres (currently hearings focus on identifying normative inconsistencies of delivered projects, rather than real accounting for communities' opinion). The goals of social development should be implemented in restoration projects.

Key indicators for social domain objectives achievement:

1. The number of sustainable heritage communities;
2. The number and variety of initiatives on interpretation, rethinking and incorporating heritage emerging every year;
3. The number of joint projects organised by state cultural institutions, business and NGOs, and the number of projects providing for relations between the regions within Belarus.
4. The development of businesses meeting the needs of heritage communities;
5. The number of events aimed at social inclusion;
6. Reducing the number of conflicts between the different actors over heritage.

Heritage as a driver of economic development

An overview of the main European ideas on developing the economic potential through heritage

Nowadays experts agree that heritage can become a resource for the sustainable development of a particular town or region. Investing in key monuments (castles, monasteries, estates) in small cities, towns and villages can be viewed on an equal footing with investing in the improvement of public infrastructure and amenities, etc.

The direct benefits arising from heritage use can be measured with three indicators:

- Number of jobs created;
- Income growth;
- Increase in demand for products from other industries.

For communities benefit from investment in heritage comes down to obtaining direct profits from charging fees for the use and visit of the site and the multiplier effect; improving the investment climate and living environment; strengthening the economic productivity of the region; obtaining momentum for long-term development; etc. The preservation of monuments can offer a countercyclical effect, thus stabilising the local economy. Restoration can be part of economic development as one of the sectors working at the local level, rather than “airdropped” from the centre. Among other things, it is a profitable, growing business around the world. Benefits and subsidies for the preservation of heritage make it rewarding for investors.⁵⁴

A study of the economic and stabilising social effect of the renovation of historical centres covering 123 German towns (an in-depth analysis was carried out in 18 of them) confirmed that the economic effects of renovation include: boosting investments, stabilising the jobs market (especially in the construction sector), increasing the attractiveness of the centre as a place for living and doing business.⁵⁵

One of the most famous examples in the expert community is the Halland restoration model (Halland is a historical county on the western coast of Sweden), which involves solving the problems of the construction sector, local jobs market through restoration and thus achieving the goals of sustainable development. In fact this is not a restoration technique but a way of project engineering. The Rossared estate in Halland Country was restored, and also served as an exemplar of the successful use of the cultural value of an abandoned site to increase the economic attractiveness of a depressed region. The local agricultural association invested in restoration and employed more than 140 people over three years. Later it was able to sell the estate to the Volvo concern for USD 4 million. Under the terms of the transaction a part of the revenue was reinvested in the creation of a Regional Environmental Centre. This experience of intersectoral cooperation has become a model. By implementing it approximately 100 buildings have been restored and 1,200 jobs created in Sweden, Hungary, Italy, Slovakia and Denmark.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ См. подробнее: Рипкема Д.Д. Экономика исторического наследия. Москва: Билдинг Медиа Групп, 2006. 155 с.

⁵⁵ Behr A. Economic and structural effects of the conservation of urban historical monuments // Denkmalpflege und Beschäftigung = Heritage conservation and employment = La conservation des monuments et l'emploi. Proceedings of an International Conference in the Framework of German EU Presidency. Red. Juliane Kirschbaum, Annegret Klein [et al.]. 1999. pp. 44–65.

⁵⁶ Gustafsson Ch. The Halland model: a trading zone for building conservation in concert with labour market policy and the construction industry, aiming at regional sustainable development. Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 2011. 296 p.

Another example is “*Distretti Culturali*” (Cultural District) in Lombardy, Italy. The project was launched in 2006 and aimed to introduce a model of integrated local development, which includes economic growth and social transformation through the development of cultural initiatives. Another example still is “*Obnovme si svoj dom*” (Renovate your house yourself), a Slovak project involving the renovation of monuments with priority employment for the unemployed (the main stakeholder was the Ministry of Labour, Social Relations and the Family). In Ireland there is a grant scheme for the refurbishment of traditional farm buildings to provide support for harmonious rural development and natural conservation (the programme was developed in cooperation with the Heritage Council of Ireland and the Department of Agriculture).⁵⁷

It is also worth mentioning the phenomenon of commodification of heritage related to its tourism consumption. For the majority heritage has been transformed into a product and turned into an attraction. Even dissonant heritage (German concentration camps, Chernobyl, old bunkers) are being successfully “sold” to tourists today.

Business projects related to the organisation of cultural and leisure centres and the development of tourism contribute to the preservation of architecture that was not previously regarded as heritage. The industrial centres of Western Europe were subjected to an economic and social crisis in the 1970s and 80s as a result of the transfer of industrial force to Asia. As a solution to a pressing problem the idea of the historical importance of former factories and plants was born there. Thus in Liverpool, Manchester and other cities in the UK projects for the renovation and interpretation of industrial sites were implemented, contributing to attracting a stream of tourists from England and the world. The local business activity was repositioned to serve tourists. The consequences of the social collapse caused by the closure of companies were mitigated.⁵⁸

Any preservation and renovation projects bring not only benefits but also costs. A restored site helps to attract motor traffic, which has a negative impact on the environment. The actualising of heritage leads to additional regulations and restrictions being put in place. The development of tourism is also accompanied by negative effects as well as positive ones.⁵⁹ To realise the economic potential any project needs a prior rationale based on research.

Cultural heritage as a driver of city and regional development in Belarus

In Belarus the economic benefit of heritage is mainly associated with the development of tourism. Actualising heritage especially on large transport routes, contributes to visits to towns and a certain increase in demand for products and services in them. Visits have stimulated local business in Halshany, Slonim, Hrodna, Nesvizh and Mir. Nevertheless most trips here are not tourist holidays but rather excursions (without overnight stays) with little economic impact. Inbound tourism is at the initial stage of its development and is concentrated in large cities thus its effects are less obvious.

Most often the increase in visits happens as a result of opening iconic sites. Following the restoration of the palace and park ensemble in Gomel there was a stream of tourists from Belarus and neighbouring cities of Chernihiv and Bryansk. The Gomel Museum even created a special department to receive foreign-guided tours.

The effects of tourism are easier to assess in small towns. Nesvizh Castle, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, has begun to have a significant impact on the city

⁵⁷ All examples in: Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (Full report). Krakow: CHCfE Consortium, International Cultural Centre, 2015. p. 197.

⁵⁸ Falconer K. Udržitelné využití historických průmyslových areálů v Británii // Průmyslové dědictví / Industrial Heritage. Sborník příspěvků k mezinárodnímu bienále «Industriální stopy». Ed. B. Fragner. Praha: České vysoké učení technické v Praze, 2008. pp. 42–55.

⁵⁹ Ibid. pp. 54–55.

after restoration. Its charisma grew. Real estate has grown in value in Nesvizh to the level of regional centres. There is a good bus service connecting the town to Minsk. There is a shop, café, restaurant and two hotels in the castle's park. Everything is rented to private entrepreneurs except for the children's café and the educational centre. The museum is one of the three leading employers of the city (after the Gorodeya Sugar Refinery and Gazprom Transgaz Belarus). It employs 200 people for an average salary of BYN 650 (the average salary in Belarus is BYN 720). At the museum, 90% of employees are natives of Nesvizh. During the summer, the castle contributes to the additional employment of 100 to 120 people. Many of the jobs are indirectly related to the work of the museum: restaurant and hotel employees, souvenir suppliers, drivers, builders, etc. The museum built a 12-apartment residential building for its employees and bought five flats for extra-budgetary funds. At the same time the museum makes money and covers 75% of its expenses (above the average in European Union).

However relations between the museum and the district executive committee are not always cooperative. The museum is not perceived as a factor of the management of the district. Despite the fact that it participates in discussing the master plan for the city at the level of detailed planning, the development of infrastructure remains sluggish. While the museum pays taxes into the state budget, the district budget lacks funds for the maintenance of tourism infrastructure and construction of parking spaces. The district remains predominantly agrarian and the potential of the castle and the historical centre of Nesvizh is not realised. The original idea of making Nesvizh a cultural satellite city of Minsk is still far from becoming a reality.

Overall despite the unprecedented results for Belarus, experts agree that this success story can hardly be reproduced. The restored key buildings and palaces in Shklou, Lida, Pastavy, and Zalesie have not exerted such a substantial impact on their local economies.

Dealing with heritage can really contribute to the development of tourism but it happens only when tourism is managed purposefully and not left to run freely, as something that automatically accompanies a restored monument. An example of a project that was not successful is the state programme *Castles of Belarus*. While its general goal is “creating favourable conditions for the preservation, restoration and rational use of cultural heritage, development of domestic and inbound tourism”⁶⁰, planned and implemented events do not guarantee achieving it. The programme itself does not provide for anything beyond design and construction work.

Tourism programmes should promote day-long domestic travel including accommodation and food as a key factor in the economic purpose of developing tourism. However in Belarus, the stereotypes that “there is nothing to see” inside the country and that the infrastructure is in a deplorable state are still common. For many towns the opposite is true.

To achieve the desired economic effect small towns and individual estates are best combined into tourist clusters, i.e. a number of owners unite under the umbrella of one brand. For example, the clusters *Kray Zhyvotvornykh Krinits* (Mogilev Region)⁶¹, *Mukhovetska Kumora* (Brest Region)⁶², *Valozhynskiya Gastsintsy* (Minsk Region)⁶³, *Severnye Afiny*⁶⁴ and *Zelenyy Obereg Hrodna*⁶⁵ (both

⁶⁰ Дзяржаўная праграма «Замкі Беларусі» на 2012 — 2018 гады //

<http://www.government.by/upload/docs/file23575465375177af.PDF> (доступ 12.04.2015).

⁶¹ Туристический кластер “Край животворных криниц” обзавелся каталогом-путеводителем // <http://www.belta.by/regions/view/turisticheskij-klaster-kraj-zhyvotvornyh-krinits-obzavelsja-katalogom-putevoditelem-191417-2016/> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁶² Муховэцкая Кумора // <http://kumora.by/index.php/home> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁶³ Валожинскія гасцінцы // <http://www.hascincy.by> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁶⁴ Стратегия развития туристской дестинации «Северные Афины» // <http://un.by/f/file/severnie-afini.pdf> (доступ 20.03.2017).

in Hrodna Region) have already been created. The development of regional tourist attractiveness is also stimulated by fairs and festivals such as *Motalskiya Prysmaki* (Motal), *Gannenski Kirmash* (Zelva), which actively use the theme of cultural heritage. Unfortunately the cluster approach is still underdeveloped in Belarus. Difficulties are encountered in interactions between private entrepreneurs and state institutions from various regions and districts.

Moreover not all experts are equally optimistic about tourism and view it as eroding the cultural and social qualities of heritage: “I don’t like linking heritage with the development of the tourist economy. I always say that preserving heritage is primarily needed as a factor of cultural identification and that we should think about the ‘significant other’ last because if we think first, nothing will come out of it. Until we assimilate this heritage ourselves, no one will.”⁶⁶

Another aspect of complex caring for cultural heritage is increasing the investment attractiveness of towns. This idea currently remains on the periphery of the experts and researchers’ attention. Even on the rhetoric level not all agree on whether cultural heritage has a positive effect on city development. Compare two statements of experts interviewed: “There’s a completely different attitude towards the town even if a small historical site is carefully tidied.”⁶⁷ and “This is a question of additional status that the investor acquires along with certain restoration problems, but this status should be readable by a large number of people, and only then would it bring additional benefits in terms of development.”⁶⁸

For now it’s the opposite. There are examples of status and obligations after complex coordination of works on sites protected by the state that increase costs of restoration, scare off investors and slowing down the development of historical centres (like in Hrodna and Mogilev). The Osmolovka neighbourhood in the historical centre of Minsk was denied protected status because of fears of slowing down progress and the degradation of the site. Experts decided that protection of its architectural qualities was only advisable once the development plan had been already agreed on.⁶⁹

Understanding the problem the Belarusian Voluntary Society for the Protection of Monuments of History and Culture when developing proposals for protection and restoration makes sure to justify the recommended function, carries out a rundown of the options for optimal economic use including the volume of construction works, usable area, etc. One proposal that it implemented was the re-development of the Mogilev synagogue into a restaurant. However not all social groups approve these proposals at the value level.

Intersectoral cooperation in heritage-related projects

Protection and restoration of architectural heritage are impossible without intersectoral cooperation. Restoration has been conceived since the 1970s in Belarus as one of the sectors of national economy involving the creation of a network of production capacities, a scientific and project base, engagement of secondary and higher education institutions. Thus during the restoration of Mir Castle the Mir restoration production area was created providing work for around 30 people who after completion of the project continued to work on other restorations in places like Nesvizh and Stročitsy. In Mir a Professional Art College was established to train personnel. This sector has been in a permanent crisis and

⁶⁵ Стратегия развития туристской дестинации «Зеленый оберег Гродно» // <http://un.by/f/file/2014-zelenii-obereg-grodno.pdf> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁶⁶ Interview no. 12.

⁶⁷ Interview no. 2.

⁶⁸ Interview no. 12.

⁶⁹ Будущее старых кварталов Минска на примере Осмоловки: сохранить или...? // <http://www.belta.by/roundtable/view/buduschee-staryh-kvartalov-minska-na-primere-osmolovki-sohranit-ili-877> (доступ 20.03.2017).

after the drop in state support and development of capitalist relations since Belarus achieved its independence.

In general the restoration of architectural heritage involves interaction between the construction industry and other industries, investors, owners and operating organisations. Integrated projects for architecture revitalisation and reconstruction presuppose intensive cooperation of this type. At the same time there are still no effective models for cooperation and coordinating interests for managing territories rich in monuments according to experts. There are many difficulties in heritage protection, restoration and construction, urban planning, environmental and tourism work. Even cooperation between ministries of architecture and culture and the committee for standardisation remains a problem⁷⁰. Restoration work remains a source of conflict in Belarus instead of realising the great potential of intersectoral cooperation.

A high level of intersectoral interaction is involved in using heritage sites for tourism purposes. Whereas this is not as obvious in large cities, in ecotourism this requires interaction between the Ministries of Sports and Tourism, Agriculture, Culture, Environment and Finance at the agency level. For example registered farmsteads were offered tax breaks. The Belagroprombank bank has launched a tax concession programme on lending to farmsteads (more than 200 owners received loans; the programme was terminated in 2016). Over the past 10 years a network of more than 2,000 farmsteads has been formed investing in infrastructure and the development of agriculture. In contrast to restoration sector an intersectoral cooperation in this area has been much more successful judging by the growing number of farmsteads.

Conversely some entrepreneurs invest in the purchase of farms and cultivation of land or as in the Valozhyn District farmsteads join forces and make wholesale purchases of products from local farmers. It is much easier when implementing tourism projects in villages and small towns to establish private-public partnerships since local authorities are interested in any kind of investment and perceive the popularised culture as their own.

For farmers and agricultural enterprises farmsteads are an opportunity for the diversification of their businesses, the inclusion of local elderly residents, who are bearers of cultural traditions, a means of applying creativity, creating private museums, and as a consequence reinforcing regional identity.

Activities of both state cultural institutions and NGOs also has a potential for intersectoral interaction. However in Belarusian practice this moves from mutually beneficial cooperation toward relations of finding patrons and various types of support, namely sponsorship.

The National History Museum is implementing a joint project with the National Bank: A museum exhibition inside the bank's branches where clients can learn historical facts while waiting in the queue. The museum took part in the International Car-Free Day. The National Art Museum organises travelling exhibitions to military bases with original artworks. The Literary Museum of Petrus Brovka organised the event *Physicians in Literature* for Doctors' Day (healthcare workers who write poetry were invited). In addition it cooperates with the National Bank by providing thematic guided tours.

Museums in small towns virtually do not undertake partnerships, whereas almost all museums in the capital have established ties with external partners. Many regional museums even have no sponsors. However there are positive changes even there. The Brest Local History Museum has an agreement with the *Belalko* enterprise (big alcohol producer). The museum took the initiative by proposing to hold an exhibition marking the enterprise's 100th anniversary. The project also included public events and a guided tour around the factory. There is also cooperation with the trolleybus park (museum trolley).

⁷⁰ Interview 12; Interview 8.

State enterprises are often not willing to cooperate with NGOs even at the level of “purchasing” services, according to NGO representatives. State enterprises and trade unions have even been booking guided tours exclusively from state tourism agencies and museums since recently.⁷¹ Yet in 2016 the Brest independent theatre *Kryly Khalopa* was invited to perform in correctional facilities (prisons).

Cooperation with business is also complicated, although large businesses have been starting to realise their social responsibility in Belarus. Different businesses have different interests. *Velcom* (cell company) works with children and nature conservation. *Priorbank* has cultural contacts with Austria and supports young artists. Some car dealers provide cars for promotional trips; etc. Examples of heritage-related projects are the *1,000 Museums of Belarus*⁷² and *Belarus N*⁷³ among others. Since 2012 *Patron of Belarus* competition has been organised awarding businesses, individuals and state enterprises. Patrons invested EUR 2.4 million in Belarusian culture in 2015. Unfortunately it is unclear what percentage was given to heritage-related projects.⁷⁴

Heritage-related entrepreneurship

Tourism is the most obvious kind of heritage-related entrepreneurship. There are 669 tourism organisations operating in Belarus according to information from the Ministry of Sport and Tourism. Of them, 476 organisations work with inbound tourism and 555 with domestic tourism.⁷⁵ Belarusian centres of tourism are Minsk, Mir, Nesvizh, Dudutki, Brest, Hrodna and Polatsk. Lately a growth in the number of visitors has been observed⁷⁶ especially after the introduction of visa-free travel for foreigners.

New trends in the tourism business include the development of a network of green routes, branding regions, implementing projects on the creative economy in a small town (a project for the Valozhyn District, implemented by the *Country Escape* farmstead owner association, with the support of UNDP).⁷⁷ Also the guided tour business is gradually introducing new forms of communication and interpretation such as the guided tours of the *Kraina Zamkau* (Country of Castles) Foundation and the *Kuferak Padarozhzhay* agency.

Nevertheless “90% of the commercial potential of cultural heritage in Belarus is unused. The most interesting in this respect is intangible heritage. However most successful projects in Western Europe cannot be automatically replicated in Belarus.”⁷⁸

The trade in handicrafts is another common heritage-related type of business in Belarus. The president A. Lukashenko signed the executive order in 2005 “On Some Issues of Carrying Out Handicraft Activity by Individuals”, which involved tax concessions and entailed the mass legalisation of freelance artisans. There were 17,660 artisans⁷⁹ in 2015 according to information from the Ministry for

⁷¹ Interview no. 25.

⁷² velcom расскажет о самых интересных белорусских музеях в новом телепроекте «1000 музеев Беларуси» // <http://www.velcom.by/ru/about/news/31719.htm> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁷³ Беларусь N // <http://belarusn.by> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁷⁴ Меценаты за 2015 год вложили в белорусскую культуру Br50 млрд // <http://www.belta.by/culture/view/metsenaty-za-2015-god-vlozhili-v-belorusskuyu-kulturu-br50-mlrd-178928-2016> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁷⁵ Реестр субъектов туристической деятельности // <http://www.mst.by/ru/actual-ru/view/reestr-subjektov-turisticheskoy-deyatelnosti-11567-2017> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁷⁶ Итоги безвизового эксперимента: Гродно и окрестности посетили 2,2 тысячи туристов из 25 стран // <http://grodno24.com/society/itogi-bezvizovogo-eksperimenta-grodno-i-okrestnosti-posetili-2-2-tysyachi-turistov-iz-25-stran.html> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁷⁷ Креативная экономика в Беларуси как нельзя близка Целям устойчивого развития ООН // <http://www.belta.by/regions/view/kreativnaya-ekonomika-v-belarusi-kak-nelzja-blizka-tseljam-ustojchivogo-razvitiya-onn-mnenie-168259-2015/> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁷⁸ Interview no. 13.

⁷⁹ Количество ремесленников в Беларуси продолжает расти // <http://www.belmarket.by/ru/369/1/28700/Количество-ремесленников-в-Беларуси-продолжает-расти.htm> (доступ 20.03.2017).

Taxes and Levies of Belarus, these are predominantly family business. It is difficult to say the work of how many of them was related to traditional culture, in any case considering an emerging trendiness of ethnic culture this is a large number of artisans. There is an increasing number of ethnic souvenir shops, including online stores. Special zones for selling souvenirs have been organised in historical centres including Minsk, Brest, Hrodna and Polatsk etc...

According to expert, there are separate crafts schools in Belarus for leather goods (Hrodna), filigree (Gomel) and straw work (Mogilev). They deserve support from the state as communities since this is more than just a group of individual artisans.⁸⁰

This business is not very profitable. Artisans are motivated not so much by commercial interest as by patriotism and the desire to convey certain values to society in most cases. Artisans find themselves having to work in schools and hold workshops. It is a great help if an artisan can travel at least 10 times yearly to various festivals or ethnic fairs.⁸¹

Such festivals and fairs that presuppose the existence of “artisan farmsteads” are growing in number in Belarus: International Potters’ Plein Air (Stolin District); State Festival Fair *Vyasnovy Buket* (Minsk); the regional open-air fair for monumental sculptors (Drahichyn District); the holiday competition for weavers *Matchyny Krosny* (the town of Staryya Darohi); holiday competition for potters *Glinyany Zvon* (Valozhyn District); Slavianski Bazaar in Vitebsk; Festival of National Cultures in Hrodna (once every two years); *Dribinskie Torzhki* (Drybin town); *Beraginya* (Oktyabrskiy town), etc.

There are also other heritage-related specific businesses: historians earn from drafting genealogical lists; there are agencies specialising in supplying special equipment to museums; various cultural initiatives increase the sales of ethno-oriented products. Over the past 10 years, the number of private museums has been growing in Belarus: Augustow Canal Museum, Janusz’ Museum in Hrodna, the Oceanography Centre Open Ocean in Minsk, the Felix Yanushkevich Art Gallery in Rakov, *Mirskiy Posad* Museum in Mir, etc. Each has a different source of revenue, but they are basically reliant on the personal enthusiasm of their founders.

Heritage as a mean of fundraising

Inside the country state cultural institutions receive organisational and non-competitive funding. NGOs are virtually excluded from the system of state assistance. Despite the existence of Presidential grants for cultural institutions and grants from the Belarusian Republican Foundation for Fundamental Research the large percentage of grants comes from foreign actors such as the EU cross-border partnership programmes, the Swedish Institute, the US Ambassadors Fund for Cultural Preservation, the German Federal Government, UNDP.

In course of report preparation, there were analysed projects relating to cultural heritage in a broad sense implemented in Belarus since 2011 within the framework of the “Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus Cross-Border Cooperation Programme 2011–2013” and the “Poland-Belarus-Ukraine Cooperation Programme 2007–2013”.

A total of 22 projects have been implemented (see Appendix 1). Their total cost amounted to €13 million, of which €3.8 million were spent in Belarus. The overwhelming majority of projects are bilateral with partners from Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. Thus, cross-border cooperation brings EU countries almost three times more funds than their Belarusian partners. Looks like it is simpler for organisations to be partners of foreign grantees rather than the main grantee because of the system of obtaining and registering grants in Belarus.

⁸⁰ Interview no. 10.

⁸¹ Ibid.

10 projects were devoted to popularisation of heritage (€1.8 million); 7 – to improvement of tourism infrastructure (€1.9 million); 6 were focused on training (€830,000, of which 4 in tourism enterprise management and 3 in museum and pedagogy work); 3 on museum work (€330,000); 2 projects involved restoration (€508,000); and 2 conducted research (€80,000)⁸².

Ten projects focused on intangible heritage and crafts, and only three on architectural heritage. Most projects however dealt with the culture and traditions of the regions, which can be interpreted as dealing with cultural landscapes (the term does not exist in Belarusian legislation and, therefore, not operational in current management).

The UNDP project Local Entrepreneurship and Economic Develop should be mentioned separately. Sustainable development strategies for ecotourism were developed within its framework and assistance was offered for legislative and regulatory reform contributing to the development of the private sector in ecotourism, ecotourism small and medium-size enterprises received support, relations with the public were reinforced and ecotourism was promoted in the region. The project cost USD 1,946,000.⁸³

Practice shows cultural heritage problems may be incorporated in the priorities of grantors working with political, social, environmental and other issues, however, Belarusian local cultural initiatives are not always able to formulate the problem, goals and objectives of their work properly, considering a common purpose of development.

All state cultural institutions lack fundraising knowledge, skills, and the understanding of the full potential of grant programmes. The priorities of their work (heritage protection or holding cultural events) do not correspond to the goals of grantors. In this sense non-governmental initiatives are more active, but to attract significant funds and solve serious problems they definitely have to establish relations with state institutions and local authorities. Few can boast of this.

In view of realising the need to attract extra-budgetary funds to the cultural sphere, state institutions have begun to turn to foreign partners more actively. The result of the implementation of mentioned above COMUS project in Mstislav will be the drafting of several project proposals at once, focusing on restoration and tourism development in the town. In its first call for proposals, the Poland, Belarus and Ukraine Cross-Border Cooperation Programme 2014–2020 applicants submitted 745 project proposals (as of 25 January 2017). The total value of concepts amounted to more than €1.2 billion, of which 231 applications were submitted as part of the Heritage thematic goal for €294.2 million. In turn, leading applicants from Belarus requested €55.6 million.⁸⁴ A detailed analysis of these applications will be available in 2017.

For example all districts of the Brest Region submitted their applications on festivals, tourism marketing, publishing bulletins, website development and conferences.⁸⁵ The majority of applications were requests for funding for events that were conceived in the past without regard to the Programme or have already been held once previously with public funds.

⁸² A total number of projects in this paragraph is bigger than 22 because some of project had several objectives.

⁸³ Местное предпринимательство и экономическое развитие. Описание проекта // <http://un.by/ru/undp/db/00080822.html> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁸⁴ Информация о количестве представленных концептуальных записок // <http://www.pbu2020.eu/by/news/78> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁸⁵ Interview no. 22.



Conclusions

Belarus has little experience in successfully using heritage as a tool for developing individual towns and regions. There are examples of successful business and productive intersectoral cooperation in projects focusing on heritage use (primarily agritourism and ecotourism); there is experience in attracting grant or sponsorship funds. The successful practice listed in this report are evidence of the existence of a small group of experts and professionals with experience in solving new development-oriented problems. There are also several platforms for successful experience exchange in terms of implementing the economic potential of heritage. These include the *Country Escape* farmstead owners association and the methodical activities of organising committees of two cross-border cooperation programmes, etc.

However, all this is just the beginning of the way. Most of current Belarusian approaches to include heritage in economic relations are based on very simple models such as providing services to tourists and souvenir sales. More complex strategies are not applied. Experts are only beginning to understand the potential of heritage in the economic domain. A big part of investments is made intuitively, without a developed methodology for result validation. Monitoring the development of entrepreneurship and other economic indicators relating to investment in heritage in towns is not conducted. The experience of using heritage in the economic domain is not studied, and this issue is not even raised. There is no explored relationship between heritage listing and attracting public investment through various programmes. Work with heritage remains “charitable” to a large extent instead of being an investment on the part of real patrons, the state and even consumers. Those who commission restoration/museum projects usually do not know how to formulate goals relating to economic and social development. Instead, they state the desire to preserve something or to realise creative ambitions.

The main threat to the sector is that the curtailment of state social programmes for the support of culture in view of the ongoing economic recession may be moving at a faster pace than the process of developing new models for heritage use. At the same time, existing state cultural institutions, of particular importance for small towns, will continue to be marginalised or will be eliminated altogether. The social and economic effects of long-term investments in heritage can be negated by the continuing outflow of residents and other crisis-related phenomena. The ill-considered hardening of protection legislation will further decrease the investment attractiveness of architectural monuments.

Objectives to all actors for a more productive use of heritage economic potential:

1. Comprehensively study the economic effectiveness of investing in cultural heritage in Belarus. Translate foreign studies on the economic component of heritage and methods of modern integrative conservation. Popularise positive Belarusian and foreign examples of using the economic potential of heritage.
2. Take heritage into account in programmes of integrated development of regions not as passive objects of impact and care, but rather as drivers of development. Think through the possibilities of using abandoned monuments while taking into account their place in the local economy, development of business plans, the place of monuments in major infrastructure projects, etc.

3. Restoration/conservation should acquire features of business, move away from being purely cultural work. Thus the effectiveness of intersectoral cooperation will accelerate (as seen on a positive example of farmstead development).
4. Develop models for sustainable cooperation between non-governmental and governmental organisations in attracting grants. More active use of the growing opportunities for grant support.
5. Work with the management of cultural institutions active in heritage to develop management competencies, medium and long-term planning and marketing skills (they are currently researchers/historians by education).
6. Popularise domestic tourism, diversify tourism products and make them more sophisticated with the use of modern technologies and methods for promotion, audience engagement and heritage interpretation.

These mechanisms can help to achieve these general objectives most effectively:

1. Establish an institution whose goal would be to introduce new thinking about the possibilities of using the economic potential of heritage through the dissemination of information about foreign and Belarusian best practice, organisation of methodology seminars and research.
2. Establish a centre to support of artisans, form thematic unions of artisans and provide legal and economic consultations.
3. Prepare recommendations on the economic use of heritage for towns of different sizes and various degrees of heritage concentration, develop a methodology for intersectoral cooperation on different types of heritage and usage goals. Formulate recommendations for commissioning and using heritage sites to meet the needs of small and medium-sized businesses.
4. Implement the cluster principle of management of heritage sites and territories rich in heritage and that are considered attractive in terms of developing tourism (for example, Kreva-Halshany, Lubcha-Navahrudak, Smalyany-Orsha, Ruzhany-Pruzhany-Kamyanyets).
5. Create a system of state competitive support for projects aimed at heritage. Introduce performance indicators on grant activities in the work of cultural institutions within the framework of raising extra-budgetary funds.
6. Implement comprehensive projects of integrative conservation based on activating and engaging communities, training and job creation, as well as stimulate the development of business initiatives.

Key indicators for economy domain objectives achievement:

1. The number of intersectoral projects in which heritage is an integrating component;
2. Growth of income and number of jobs in heritage-related businesses, and increasing the diversity of such businesses;
3. Diversification and growth of sources of heritage-related project funding;
4. The number of projects implemented using the method of integrative conservation.



Heritage as a source for cultural development

European trends in developing culture's potential through heritage

Culture is what fills heritage with meaning and at the same time the result of creative inspiration emanating from it. Culture brings forth heritage as an instrument of stabilisation and means of interacting with other cultures. There have been relatively few publications to date devoted to attempts to measure and assess the intensity of using heritage's potential for the development of local culture despite the obvious relation between the two.

Policies that take culture into account should promote respect for diversity, transmission of values, their continuity and inclusiveness through the participation of individuals and communities in public life and improving the conditions of disadvantaged groups. Cultural infrastructure such as museums and other cultural institutions can be used as a space for dialogue and social inclusion helping reduce violence and strengthen cohesion. It is necessary to make full use of the potential of creativity and cultural diversity to promote innovative approaches. In post-conflict zones the preservation of heritage sites and organisation of cultural activities should be promoted to enable affected communities to restore their identity, regain a sense of dignity and normalcy, enjoy universal language of art and begin to heal the scars of war.⁸⁶

It is difficult to distinguish the effects of using the heritage potential in cultural and social domains. Yet the cultural impact of actualising heritage is divided into direct and indirect effects. Direct effects are production of socially-acceptable forms of recreation, changing ways of thinking, positive influence on the psychological and social environment. Indirect effects are enriching of urban environment by stimulating development of public services. Engaged heritage becomes a means of social organisation, clarification of collective memory, development of intercultural exchange and strengthening of identity, enhancing the cultural and social capital⁸⁷:

- Heritage sites function as attraction points for the community, where people meet, interact and discuss various issues;
- Heritage becomes an opportunity for holding festivals and celebrations;
- Heritage, its transmission and its preservation contribute to the strengthening of intergenerational, professional and personal ties;
- Heritage plays a role in attracting new residents and integrating them into the community;
- Heritage symbolises tolerance and respect for diversity;
- Heritage can be used as a mean of education and expanding worldviews;
- Heritage plays a key role in urban development, which contributes to social renewal.⁸⁸

Besides the instrumental potential heritage plays an institutionalising role – through restoration discussions, introducing of new methods for values engagement, organisational development, reconciling public opinion, etc.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ The Hangzhou Declaration. Placing Culture at the Heart of Sustainable Development Policies (2013) // http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/final_hangzhou_declaration_russian.pdf (Accessed on 20 March 2017).

⁸⁷ Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe (Full report). Krakow: CHCfE Consortium, International Cultural Centre, 2015. p. 70.

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 73.

⁸⁹ Ibid. pp. 66-67.

Belarusian heritage in the context of interregional, intercultural and intergenerational dialogue

Heritage can be a means of strengthening/establishing interregional intra-Belarusian relations through the following activities:

- Organisation of nationwide festivals and fairs: Days of Belarusian Literature (in a new district city every year, *Dazhynki* (in a new district city every year of the six regions), *Slavianski Bazar* (every year in Vitebsk), among others.
- In museum work: organisation of joint exhibitions and transfer of certain exhibitions from one museum to another. For example, the National History Museum, being a Republican Methodology Centre, works with regional museums, maintains a catalogue of their main collections and tries to include their items in its own temporary exhibition projects. Thus, in the large exhibition project on the history of trade, objects were gathered from 15 Belarusian museums. The large-scale exhibition project of the National Art Museum *Ten Centuries of Art in Belarus* brought together around 500 works from 27 museums from all over the country.⁹⁰ Every year in different city, the Museum Forum of Belarus is held, bringing together almost all the museums.
- At the level of methodological support: maintenance of the Inventory of Elements of Intangible Heritage, which brings together and popularises traditions of different Belarusian regions.

Nevertheless a big part of cultural events does not have the specific goal of stimulating interregional exchange. If anything does happen it is rather spontaneous. Even joint museum projects are concentrated more on exchange of items rather than on adoption of best museum practices in exhibiting, education, etc.

In certain cases heritage can be a means of intergenerational dialogue. Information about intangible heritage in the inventory can provoke the interest of other regions or of Minsk youth (Students' Ethnographic Association), who come to small villages, record the elderly, establish communication with them. Overall such contacts are also exceptions, not the rule. The organised events do not set the specific goal of real intergenerational exchange. Communication with elderly people is in the format of inclusion at best.

Heritage is also a means of intercultural communication. This is repeatedly stated at the government level. The International Traditional Culture Forum has been held in Mogilev since 2012. Specialists of traditional culture from over ten countries take part in the event: Belarus, Russia, Italy, Turkey, Estonia and other states.⁹¹ The Festival of National Cultures has been held once every two years in Hrodna since 1996, demonstrating different ethnic groups inhabiting Belarus. Within two days, they show their traditional folklore, rituals, costumes and cuisine. During the festival, the demonstration effect is realised but topical social and political issues are never raised. The festival has little links to today's agenda.

Existing events have a predominantly narrowly specialised and domestic focus according to experts. Even in Minsk there is no flagship heritage-related project capable of attracting international attention and take the city and the country to the international stage. "For now we do not have sites for which it would be worth travelling from Europe and the world".⁹²

International museum contacts are not regular and very much dependent on the personal situational work of museum employees and the director. There is no permanent hub where they would be established.

⁹⁰ У Нацыянальным мастацкім музеі адкрылася галоўная выстава года - "Дзесяць вякоў мастацтва Беларусі" // <http://www.nv-online.info/by/469/printed/81746/дзі-і-гледзіл.htm> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁹¹ Міжнародны форум па традыцыйнай культуры пройдзе 11-15 кастрычніка ў Могілеве // <http://www.belta.by/culture/view/mezhdunarodnyj-forum-po-traditsionnoj-kulture-proidet-11-15-oktiabrya-v-mogileve-213590-2016/> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁹² Interview no. 3.

A big part of international heritage-related projects in Belarus is inspired externally and is carried out by specially established international institutions such as the Polish Institute, Institut-Goethe and the embassies of different countries.

The only area in which systematic work is carried out by the Belarusian Culture Fund and the World Association of Belarusians is establishing of sustainable connections with Belarusian communities in Russia (Smolensk, Kaliningrad, St. Petersburg, Irkutsk), in the Baltic countries and Ukraine (Lviv, Kyiv, Kharkiv).

Raising the standards and diversity of cultural life

Heritage certainly contributes to raising the standards and diversity of cultural life. In Belarus this mainly happens through the transfer of technologies and best practice in culture from big cities to small ones and to rural areas. Thus television outlets come to villages and new media gradually makes its way in. Artisans are signing up for social networking services. This helps advertise their products. Visiting tourists (both Belarusians and especially foreigners) create a demonstration effect. Large, high-profile heritage sites attract cultural events: Mir Castle hosts the *Mirum Music Fest* festival of electronic music, Music Evenings at the Mir Castle, etc.; Nesvizh Castle hosts the Yuri Bashmet International Music Festival, Evenings of the Bolshoi Theatre at the Radziwill Castle, Muses of Nesvizh, etc.; at castles and citadels in Navahrudak, Lida, Mstislaw, Kreva, Halshany and other towns, knighthood festivals are held. National museums bring big exhibition projects from abroad to regional museums (the National History Museum brought the Italian exhibition of ancient bicycles in 2016, the National Art Museum brought the Art of Buddhism from the Hermitage).

The campaign *Budzma Belarusami* (Let's be Belarusians) fulfils the role of actor and agent, disseminating best practices in work with heritage. For example, the cycle of public events *Projects Fair*, primarily organised in regional and district centres. The fairs aim to present the best ideas in local grassroots initiatives. 22 fairs have been held, since 2013 to 2017, each tackled various themes relating to heritage and regional identity.⁹³

Inverse movement from the provinces to the centre is extremely rare. Urban creative collectives come to the district or rural centres and study traditional dances and playing musical instruments. As a result of this external interest heritage is mainstreamed at the local level and new cultural products are transferred to the city.

Innovative cultural projects are mainly associated with the work of museums. Museums Night is held in Belarus during May of every year. This is one day when every major museum tries to impress their visitors by coming up with creative and experimental events, often at the intersection of the arts.

Museums are fairly conservative institutions in Belarus that do not aspire to be a platform for discussing current topics. Even when this happens, they do in an emphatically neutral tone, for example discussions of gender literature at the Literary Museum of Petrus Brovka.

The series of museum interventions by the contemporary Belarusian conceptual artist Ruslan Vashkevich that took place at the Museum of the Rumyantsev-Paskevich Residence (Gomel) and Polatsk Art Gallery is a good example of the synthesis of contemporary art and heritage, but it failed at the Saved Artistic Valuables Museum (Brest) due to censorship (the decision was taken by artist to move project from museum to a shopping centre in protest).⁹⁴

Belarusian museums have a sceptical attitude towards new museum technologies even if recognising the relevance of introducing innovative

⁹³ Кірмаш праектаў // <http://budzma.by/category/projects/kirmash-prayektaw> (доступ 20.03.2017).

⁹⁴ "Музейщики испугались". В Бресте "контрабандный" арт-проект пришлось перенести в торговый дом // <https://news.tut.by/culture/516439.html> (доступ 20.03.2017).

interpretation methods. “The museum should use modern technologies, but they cannot replace the museum object, the exhibit. Because the museum is first and foremost a repository of museum items and their popularisation, presenting them to the public.”⁹⁵

Increasing the diversity of cultural life in large cities is mainly associated with the work of grassroots initiatives and organisations. The work of the Brest Fortress Development Foundation starkly stands out, trying to turn the central heritage site – the fortress – into a centre of the city’s development. The foundation co-organised the architecture forum for the students of the Brest Technical University with interventions on the territory of the fortress, where experts from Poland, Estonia, Austria and Russia were invited. Also Foundation promotes discussions of strategies for the use of the fortress resource as a cultural object.

In large cities, informal initiatives organise urban quests on different themes or other games (#Playhellocity and others.) tackling urban heritage, among other things. Such creative initiatives are less interested in heritage, perceiving it as a mere backdrop and a means to achieve their own goals.

Conclusions

Work with heritage in Belarus is a part of ensuring the citizens’ access to cultural products. Heritage-related projects contribute to development/self-development, expand worldviews, and strengthen identity. To this end the study of local and national heritage is included in the curricula of schools, and secondary and higher educational institutions. Dealing with heritage especially in a small town is one of the few possibilities to include creative people in the common cultural process.

Nevertheless the potential of the cultural development of heritage is far from being fully exploited, paradoxically enough. Cultural heritage in Belarus remains a personal hobby/interest, a means of satisfying scholar curiosity, or a backdrop for entertainment (concerts by the walls of the Lida and Mir Castles) instead of fulfilling its numerous functions aiming to unify and develop. Heritage is often something to pay tribute to ritualistically, without real appropriation or re-thinking. The intangible cultural heritage of Belarus is predominantly mono-ethnic, traditional and rural. The heritage of other ethnic groups and that of urban culture are underrepresented. The potential of Jewish, Tatar, Russian and Ukrainian heritage is only just beginning to be tapped.

The main threat to the development of this domain is state policy that undermines civil society and individual initiatives for the creative re-thinking of heritage or for transferring to Belarus European best practice for working with heritage. Meanwhile it is informal initiatives that are the driver of the renewal of cultural life in Belarus.

Objectives to all actors for a more productive use of heritage cultural potential:

1. At the organisational level: Improve the work of state cultural institutions through the transfer of new methods of mainstreaming and interpreting heritage, including through the use of electronic technologies and new media. It is also important to reduce their anxiety threshold in relation to work with controversial and “uncomfortable” heritage.

⁹⁵ Interview no. 26.



BIERASCIE WARBURG, 2013, Malejka

2. At the thematic level: Increase the number and improve the quality of projects aiming to mainstream and demonstrate the heritage of all ethnic groups living in Belarus, activating the work with the heritage of minorities. It is also necessary to start working with urban cultural heritage (in addition to architecture and city history).
3. At the qualitative level: Priority support for projects relating not to the inclusion of architecture or elements of intangible culture on various state lists and ensuring technical preservation, but rather relating to identifying and using their potential, enriching the cultural life of town or region, introducing new cultural practice, etc.
4. Development of new thinking on the cultural dimension of heritage through the popularisation of new methods of working with it, development of creative, participatory and interactive projects, inclusion of ethical components, and the establishment of the interregional, intercultural and intergenerational exchange.
5. The use of heritage not only as a marker of belonging to a certain group but also as a means of resolving social and political conflicts and contradictions, as a basis for tolerance for cultural diversity and a means of attracting new cultural capital.

These mechanisms can help to achieve these general objectives most effectively:

1. Create an independent methodology/expert/training centre (and strengthening of existing state centres), working to build the cultural capacity of heritage-related projects (including through the transfer of European best practice).
2. Work with public bodies responsible for the state ideology of the Republic of Belarus to stimulate the discussion of “complex” themes of heritage and historical memory in the framework of overcoming social and political conflicts and contradictions in the country.
3. Continue assistance to independent cultural initiatives (especially in the regions and small towns), promoting their sustainability through their inclusion in the national and international network of similar initiatives.
4. Stimulate intersectoral projects for creating and filling pedestrian streets and public spaces, providing a “stage” for creative events and presentations of the results of cultural initiatives, including those working with heritage.
5. Promote the development of the components of qualitative study of local heritage in educational curricula at educational institutions of various levels; educational programmes for adults are of particular importance.

Key indicators for culture domain objectives achievement:

1. The number and diversity of heritage-related projects using new forms of cultural dissemination and consumption (participatory, interactive projects, including those related to new media), especially in small towns;
2. Intensity of interregional and international relations in heritage-related cultural projects;
3. The number of projects aimed at the intergenerational exchange, mainstreaming heritage of various minorities and ethnic groups.

General conclusions and recommendations

Actions required to realise the potential of heritage in Belarus

1. Establish an organisation to introduce new thinking in relation to using the social, economic and cultural potential of heritage by disseminating information about foreign and Belarusian best practice, curating the nature of programming and synergies of implemented projects, ensuring horizontal communication between the sector's actors, conducting conflict monitoring, the organisation of methodology seminars and research.
2. Adjust the performance indicators of state cultural institutions and the Ministry of Culture, introduce indicators relating public and civil society organisations/initiatives outreach in their work, grant activities, the establishment of interregional and international relations, etc.
3. Develop models of sustainable cooperation between local non-governmental and governmental organisations in attracting grants for carrying out various work with heritage.
4. Launch projects aimed to support and engage specific heritage communities. Fully include them in decision-making as a responsible actor aware of their interests (by changing the public hearing methods) rather than a passive observer while maintaining expert support thus insuring against hasty, poor decision-making.
5. Develop and support projects of integrative restoration for local heritage sites, improving the skills of local residents, job creation, promoting small businesses, and the spread of modern restoration technologies, with the implementation of social and economic development goals. Stimulate citywide restoration/conservation projects with inclusive potential, contributing to redefining of urban identity and consolidation of citizens.
6. Prepare recommendations on the economic use of heritage for cities and towns of different sizes and varying degrees of heritage saturation, including on the rehabilitation of abandoned sites. Develop a methodology for intersectoral cooperation on different types of heritage and purposes of its uses.
7. Stimulate the creation of heritage clusters with implementation of programmes for integrative restoration, interpretation, touristic and related business development. Long-term efforts on mainstreaming, promoting, administering such clusters are needed (establishing cooperation between district executive committees, overseeing international activities and fundraising).
8. Support the growing non-governmental sector by capacity building, developing competencies, and stimulating cooperation with state cultural institutions. Develop and support thematic associations of heritage actors. Launch countrywide cultural projects with the use of a wide network of state cultural institutions.

9. Support projects using heritage not only as a marker of belonging to a specific group but also as a means of resolving social and political conflicts and contradictions, as a basis for tolerance of cultural diversity and a means of attracting new cultural capital. Implement methods of conflict-free heritage management.
10. Improve practice of using heritage for the inclusion of people with disabilities, disadvantaged groups, ethnic groups, minorities, etc.; disseminate best practice for the work of state cultural institutions and NGOs with families and elderly people, ensuring intergenerational exchange.



BIERASCIE, 2006, Malejka

Recommendations to the EU to support the main actors of the heritage sector in Belarus with the aim of realising its full potential

Work with state bodies responsible for heritage management

1. Gradually harmonise of the legal framework for heritage management with the European one. The introduction of European terminology and principles set forth in documents such as the Valletta Principles (2011), the Faro Convention (2005), and the European Landscape Convention (2000). Stimulate the practice of participatory management of heritage sites, the inclusion of communities in decision-making.
2. Work with state institutions of Belarus to discuss complex historical subjects, for example, those relating to the heritage of repressions, World War II, Jewish heritage, etc.
3. Conduct research on the results of state investing in intangible heritage sites with the aim of developing criteria for economic, social and cultural effectiveness. It is necessary to find out to what extent the expansion of the list of the historical and cultural valuables of the Republic of Belarus and the engagement of heritage in general affect the economic activities in the historical centres of Belarusian towns.
4. Stimulate intersectoral, interregional and international cooperation in cultural heritage-related projects.
5. Develop competencies to enable performing risk management of cultural heritage sites, comprehensive development of territories with historical and cultural potential, work with heritage communities.



KOSAVA, 2016, Malejka

Work with museums and other state cultural institutions

1. Expand criteria for the success of planned heritage programmes and projects by including goals relevant to social, economic and cultural development.
2. Stimulate projects aimed at developing a local identity and engaging a town's community – bearer of cultural tradition and the main beneficiary from heritage.
3. Use the mobilisation potential of heritage by organising volunteer work, fundraising, etc. Establish long-term cooperation with NGOs. Institutions should transform into hubs that capture a wide range of initiatives devoted to cultural heritage.
4. Overcome conservatism in regional museums and cultural institutions in relation to new forms of work, including by developing electronic technologies to ensure that citizens have access to cultural heritage and the development of educational programmes for adults.
5. Develop competencies that would allow management of cultural projects, marketing, fundraising, and critical heritage research.

Work with organisations carrying out restoration and urban planning

1. Popularise best European restoration and urban practice, adapting them to the conditions of Belarus (including methodologies of integrative restoration). Organise internships for Belarusian specialists in the EU, intergovernmental exchange and inviting European experts for consultations on work with heritage.
2. Overcome the conservatism of organisations involved in restoration. Stimulate relations between restorer and urban planners and the creative industries.
3. Re-think the economic and social contribution of restoration to urban development. Expand and optimise inter-sectoral relations of restoration, develop methodologies for overcoming inter-sectoral and other conflicts.
4. Improve the image of Belarusian restorers, popularise existing Belarusian best practice and form a network of social partners of restoration, including through cooperation with civil society organisations.
5. Develop competencies to enable fundraising, the marketing of restoration projects and public outreach.

Work with NGOs

1. Support projects aimed at identifying and using the potential of heritage, enriching the cultural life of a town, introducing new cultural practice, self-engagement of heritage communities, work with minorities and realising the inclusive potential of heritage.
2. Establish and develop a network of organisations dealing with heritage in their work.

3. Provide methodical support of cultural initiatives (especially in small towns) to imbue proposed projects with the goals of the social and cultural development of a town or region.
4. Stimulate sustainable projects and launch programmes. Stimulate intersectoral, interregional and international relations between organisations, especially cooperation with the state education system and the state cultural institution network.
5. Develop competencies to help in overcoming conflicts and negotiating with other actors in decision-making.

Work with commercial companies active in heritage

1. Popularise cluster principles of tourism organisation. Stimulate intersectoral cooperation, establishing relations with state cultural institutions and civil society organisations.
2. Popularise new types of heritage-related businesses, stimulate new business ideas, including those using the potential of electronic technologies. Include the heritage theme in the creative industries, stimulating synergies between the creative and cultural sectors.
3. Create thematic business associations by activity type (similar to *Country Escape*).
4. Enhance social responsibility and the inclusive potential of heritage-related businesses.
5. Develop competencies to allow them to become part of the creative industry, expand notions about sustainable tourism and the inclusive potential of heritage.



KOSAVA, 2016, Malejka



BIERASCIE, 2013, Malinka

Appendix 1:

Cultural heritage-related projects implemented in Belarus since 2011 within the framework of the Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus Cross-Border Cooperation Project 2011–2013 and the Poland, Belarus and Ukraine Cross-Border Cooperation Project 2007–2013

	Source of Funds	Partner/Recipient in Belarus	Project Title	Activities Implemented in Belarus	Grant Amount (EUR)	Amount Disbursed in Belarus (EUR)	Main Type of Activities
1	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Pastavy District Executive Committee	Stimulation of cross-border tourism in Lithuania and Belarus by improving accessibility and attractiveness of the cultural and historical heritage in Rokiskis and Pastavy regions ⁹⁶	The Tiesenhausen Palace and Museum in Pastavy was restored. The <i>Exhibition of the basements of the central and northern wing of the Tiesenhausen palace and the museum exhibition of the scientific taxidermy laboratory of Count Tiesenhausen project</i> was developed. In accordance with the project documentation, equipment, furniture and artefacts were installed in the palace. Also, an ethnographic expedition was organised in Lithuania and Belarus dedicated to the heritage of the Tiesenhausens. The results of the exhibition were presented during the international conference in Rokiskis. At the end of the project, a general tourist route was created, representing the cultural and historical heritage sites in both regions.	652,829	316,000	Restoration
2	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Department for Ideology, Culture and Youth Affairs of the Braslaw District Executive Committee; Braslaw District Association of Museums	Preservation and promotion of cultural heritage in Rezenke and Braslaw regions ⁹⁷	A joint study of folklore and arts and crafts was conducted, more than 70 artisans were interviewed and 100 songs recorded, performed by folk collectives and solo artists. 120 books of “Arts and Crafts in Rezenke and Braslaw” were published, a database of folk collectives was created. An awareness campaign was conducted. Joint exhibitions of traditional arts and crafts, fairs and festivals were held in Rezenke and Braslaw.	1,359,875	103,613	Popularisation of culture
3	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus	State institution Centre of Culture “Vitebsk”	Daugavpils and Vitebsk: Cultural Cooperation and Development ⁹⁸	The project strengthened cultural cooperation between Daugavpils and Vitebsk. Traditional costumes and musical instruments were purchased. Joint concerts were held in Daugavpils and Vitebsk. Two national festivals (Ivanov Day)	296,785	109,900	Popularisation of culture

⁹⁶ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1VL_1071_proekt_LLB_1_003/746, <http://vitvesti.by/turizm/vo-dvortse-tyzengauza-postavskogo-rajona-otkroetsya-muzej.html>

⁹⁷ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1VL_1079_proekt_LLB_1_102/747

⁹⁸ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1VL_1057_proekt_LLB_1_072/709, http://www.beleuroregion.by/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=701:--qq-----&catid=44:2010-08-10-11-58-05&Itemid=59&lang=ru

	CBC 2011–2013			were held in Latvia and Belarus. Workshops and meetings for cultural professionals were organised. The street stage of the culture centre in Vitebsk was repaired.			
4	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Department for Ideology, Culture and Youth Affairs of the Hrodna District Executive Committee	Promotion of neighbourhood cooperation and cultural diversity between the creative communities of Druskininkai and Hrodna ⁹⁹	Days of Belarusian Culture were organised in Druskininkai, gathering more than 200 performers from Hrodna. Child artists from Druskininkai and Hrodna took part in a creative summer school in Druskininkai. Hrodna's cultural organisations also purchased modern equipment and tools. More than 200 spectators attended the concert given by performers from Druskininkai in Hrodna. A bilateral open-air event featuring woodcarvers was also held in Hrodna.	147,782	45,500	Popularisation of culture
5	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Polatsk District Executive Committee; Braslaw District Executive Committee; Miory District Executive Committee; Verkhnyadzvinsk District Executive Committee; Rasony District Executive Committee; Interaktsia Local Foundation for the Promotion of International Dialogue and Cooperation (Minsk)	Fostering capacity for tourism development in the Latgale-Utena-Vitebsk cross-border region ¹⁰⁰	The Bella Dina region was jointly represented at eight international tourism exhibitions in Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus and Russia. Six tourism festivals, a forum and conferences were held in the three countries, gathering around 12,000 residents and visitors to the region. Eleven public recreation facilities in the Latgale region, Aukstaitijos and Vitebsk regions were created. More than 360 specialists of the tourism field were trained, participating in three training sessions. Several sets of equipment were purchased for the use of the town's information centres. More than 700 signs were put up. Five new tourist routes were developed in the border regions of Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus.	1,789,387	400,000	Training; Popularisation of culture
6	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Smarhon District Executive Committee	Use of historical farmsteads and their adaptation to the modern requirements of culture ¹⁰¹	The M.K. Oginsky manor was restored in Zalesie. It was adapted for holding concerts, specially designed furniture and a piano was installed, and the dressing rooms were fitted with equipment. In the restored manors, concerts by Lithuanian and Belarusian performers, a science conference and other activities were held. A joint tourist route <i>From Zalesie to Uzutrakis</i> was developed.	575,268	191,500	Restoration
7	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus	Ashmyany District Executive Committee	Two sides, one history and culture ¹⁰²	A virtual tourist route and map called <i>The Historical Route along the Ashmyany Upland</i> was prepared. The exhibition was renewed and new equipment was installed at the Vladislavo Sirokomles Museum in Bareikiskes and at the	172,544	65,700	Popularisation of culture; Museum

⁹⁹ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1VL_1049_proekt_LLB_1_104/711

¹⁰⁰ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1VL_128_proekt_LLB_1_098/797, <http://polotsk.vitebsk-region.gov.by/index.php/en/menu-newshome/menu-news-region/169-polotskij-rajon-priznan-pobeditelem-v-mezhdunarodnom-konkurse-transgranichnogo-sotrudnichestva>

¹⁰¹ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1VL_209_proekt_LLB_1_008/809

¹⁰² http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1VL_760_proekt_LLB_2_128/881, <https://www.sb.by/articles/dve-storony-odnoy-istorii.html>

	CBC 2011–2013			Ashmyany Museum of History and Ethnography. Several cultural activities, concerts and exhibitions were organised. For example, <i>Spring of Poetry</i> and <i>The Ghost of Halshany Castle</i> festival.			work
8	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Hrodna State Museum of History and Archaeology	Virtual past is a keystone of the successful future of museums ¹⁰³	The partners developed a virtual museum that attracts a large number of people, changes the typical museumgoer image, and demonstrates the cultural and historical ties between the three countries. Several exhibitions were reconstructed and exhibition halls in museums in Rezekne, Kedainiai and Hrodna were repaired. Educational seminars and science conferences were held.	374,832	90,000	Museum work
9	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Department for Ideology, Culture and Youth Affairs of the Lida District Executive Committee	The spirit of our ancestors is alive in our hearts ¹⁰⁴	Five folklore festivals, 10 seminars on ancient crafts and 10 historical expeditions were held, and a brochure and DVD were released.	164,859	56,000	Popularisation of culture
10	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Svislach District Executive Committee	Cooperation and cultural dialogue between the towns of Ukmerge and Svislach ¹⁰⁵	Two international conferences devoted to the study of the common features of Lithuanian and Belarusian folklore, crafts and traditions of holding fairs were organised. Two historical fairs were held in Ukmerge and Svislach. Wooden carriages, wheelbarrows, trading pavilions, clothes of city dwellers of the 19th century and other historical objects were purchased.	75,099	32,000	Popularisation of culture
11	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Yanka Kupala State University of Hrodna	Popularisation of centres of oral history in the Latvia-Belarus border region ¹⁰⁶	A study was conducted using the method of “collecting oral history”, covering more than 200 residents of border regions in Latvia and Belarus. The results of the study were compiled and published as a book and CD. International science conferences were held in both countries. The main result was the creation of the <i>Electronic Museum of Oral History</i> (www.vitamemoriae.eu).	168,824	79,921	Research
12	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Polatsk District Executive Committee; Lepiel District Executive Committee	Improvement of culinary service in the Latgale and	More than 100 entrepreneurs active in culinary heritage were trained as part of the project. Vitebsk region became a member of the European Network of Culinary Heritage. A	483,195	76,259	Training; Popularisation of

¹⁰³ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1VL_758_proekt_LLБ_2_269/884/1

¹⁰⁴ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1VL_859_proekt_LLБ_2_236/886, http://kultura.Hrodna-region.by/ru/news/lidskij-rajon-uchastvuet-v-transgranichnom-proekte-po-vozrozhdeniju-narodnoj-kultury_i_386.html

¹⁰⁵ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/VL_909_proekt_LLБ_2_220/896, <http://svisgaz.by/sobytie/3760-proekt-zakonchen-sotrudnichestvo-prodolzhitsya.html>

¹⁰⁶ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1S_138_proekt_LLБ_2_143/933, http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/Virtualjnyj_muzej_ustnoj_istorii_sozdan_/634

	Belarus CBC 2011– 2013	Department of Education, Sport and Tourism; Hlybokaye District Executive Committee, Department of Education, Sport and Tourism; Verkhnyadzvinsk District Council of Deputies; Miory District Executive Committee; The Interaktsia Local Foundation for the Promotion of International Dialogue and Cooperation (Minsk)	Vitebsk regions, based on the culinary heritage concept ¹⁰⁷	series of brochures was published promoting the region; three international culinary festivals were held.			culture
13	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011– 2013	Polatsk District Executive Committee	Museum gateway ¹⁰⁸	50 museum employees were trained in such subjects as creative thinking, creating an exhibition, the rules of visual communication, basic economics, information and communication technologies, marketing of tourism products, and they took part in training sessions for guides. In 19 museums in three countries, the basic infrastructure was improved and exhibitions restarted. 3D mobile apps were created for cultural heritage sites. A common tourist route was developed connecting the museums of the participating regions. Three spectacular historical and cultural events were held.	1,428,494	174,890	Training; Museum work
14	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011– 2013	Hrodna regional department of the civil society association Republican Union of Tourism and Sport; Ashmyany District Executive Committee; Department of Education, Sport and Tourism of the Hrodna District Executive Committee	Development of bicycle tourism and information system in the Lithuania-Belarus border region ¹⁰⁹	New cycling routes were built in Ashmyany. 12 recreation places were built in Hrodna. Almost 400 information stands and signs were installed on the territories of Lithuania and Belarus. Educational activities on bicycle safety were organised and conducted for schoolchildren. Maps and information guides for cyclists were created and disseminated.	705,397	279,600	Improving infrastructure
15	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC	Department of Education, Sport and Tourism of the Hrodna City Executive Council; Hrodna regional department of the civil	Promotion of tourism by increasing awareness about the history and culture	A database of more than 100 tourist sites located in the Druskininkai and Hrodna districts was created. Four tourist routes (mobile guidebooks) and innovative solutions for scanning codes were developed for hikers, cyclists and motorists. Tourist maps were published. More than 150	286,713	74,152	Improving infrastructure; Training

¹⁰⁷ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1S_161_proekt_LLB_2_266/938, <http://eu-belarus.net/ru/news/101>

¹⁰⁸ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1S_133_proekt_LLB_2_208/935, <http://polotsk.vitebsk-region.gov.by/index.php/ru/menu-sport/162-muzejnyj-vorota>

¹⁰⁹ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1S_190_proekt_LLB_2_210/963, <http://Hrodnaturinvest.by/rus/news/2013/2>

	2011–2013	society association Republican Union of Tourism and Sport	of the regions ¹¹⁰	representatives of tourism and cultural industry and the services field from Lithuania and Belarus were trained as part of the 6 educational events.			
16	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Department for Ideology, Culture and Youth Affairs of the Hlybokaye District Executive Committee	Improvement of educational conditions for the continuity of the artistic heritage of Latvia and Belarus within the framework of cross-border cooperation ¹¹¹	At the children's art school in Hlybokaye repair works were carried out and new furniture, computers and software were installed to hold visual art classes. The school's teachers underwent training on how to use computers in the educational process. Interactive lessons were developed. A common product was created: a colouring book based on the biographies and works of two famous local artists, Anton Kukoys from Ludza and Jazep Drozdowicz from Hlybokaye.	222,098		Improving infrastructure; Training
17	Latvia, Lithuania and Belarus CBC 2011–2013	Department for Ideology, Culture and Youth Affairs of the Hrodna District Executive Committee	Preservation and promotion of the cultural and historical heritage in Daugavpils and Hrodna ¹¹²	The Centre of Folk Crafts was built in Hrodna, a series of tourism conferences, seminars on the preservation of cultural heritage, educational activities and artisan open-air events were held. Two international expeditions were organised in which around 300 experts in historical and cultural heritage and tourism, students and teachers of history faculties, and artisans from the two countries took part.	926,872	423,302	Improving infrastructure; Popularisation of culture
18	Poland, Belarus and Ukraine CBC 2007–2013	Yanka Kupala State University of Hrodna	Improvement of cross-border region attractiveness through the introduction of ethnocultural resources to tourist activities (A journey to an ethnic fairy tale) ¹¹³	The project events were divided into marketing, educational and applied ones, providing for the infrastructural reorganisation of the Gudevichi Ethnography Museum, the creation of an ethnocultural research section at the State University of Hrodna, educational training in Belarus and Poland, and the publication of an encyclopaedic guide to ethnocultural tourism resources.	1,270,306	625,000	Research; Building infrastructure
19	Poland, Belarus and Ukraine CBC 2007–	Brest State University named after A.S. Pushkin	Cycling route: In the footsteps of Pribuzh secrets ¹¹⁴	The tracing of 200 km of cycling trails in Belarus, the creation of 78 information boards of various sizes in Poland and Belarus, installed along the cross-border cycling route, and the creation of parking spaces, the publication of a multilingual tourist guide and maps.	304,908	97,000	Building infrastructure

¹¹⁰ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1S_352_proekt_LLB_2_137/1014, <http://Hrodna.gov.by/ru/main.aspx?guid=6261>

¹¹¹ http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1S_435_proekt_LLB_2_244_/1024

¹¹² http://www.enpi-cbc.eu/go.php/rus/1S_442_proekt_LLB_2_246/1025, <http://ckg.by/vozrozhdenie-i-sokhranenie-kulturno/>

¹¹³ <http://pl-by-ua.eu/contract.php?id=10>

¹¹⁴ <http://bikeroute.brsu.by>, <http://www.vb.by/society/17472.html>

	2013						
20	Poland, Belarus and Ukraine CBC 2007–2013	Municipal unitary production enterprise of housing and communal services Kamenets Housing and Communal Services; Polesia Agro-Environmental Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Belarus	Comprehensive project to support the tourism sector of the Poland-Belarus border region ¹¹⁵	Development of a tourism strategy and publication of a guidebook. Green trails, cycling and water routes were developed and marked out. The historical gates and the park in Vysokiy were repaired. The <i>Cultural heritage as a factor of sustainable tourism of cross-border tourism</i> seminar was organised.	936,383	395,510	Building infrastructure
21	Poland, Belarus and Ukraine CBC 2007–2013	Yanka Kupala State University of Hrodna; Navahrudak Museum of History and Regional Studies	Routes around towns: The remains of Jewish cultural heritage in cross-border tourism ¹¹⁶	Tourist routes through former Jewish towns were created; cooperation was established in preparing the routes and opportunities for exchange of research methodologies and advertising strategies. A guidebook was published in a four-language version and an Internet portal was created.	462,940	80,630	Popularisation of culture
22	Poland, Belarus and Ukraine CBC 2007–2013	Hrodna regional department of the civil society association Republican Union of Tourism and Sport; Department of Physical Culture, Sport and Tourism of Hrodna Region	Planet of ideas: Cross-border transfer of knowledge in the field of attracting investments for the development of cross-border tourism ¹¹⁷	Series of seminars will be organised in Belarus, Poland and Ukraine aimed at training skilled personnel capable of preparing and managing tourism projects financed by the EU. Besides training sessions and educational visits, the partners want to develop an electronic Internet platform of partnership and publish a book with the aim of expanding access to the cross-border know-how of tourism projects.	262,921	105,930	Training
Total					13,068,311	3,822,407	

¹¹⁵ <http://paei.by/ru-RU/tourism-sector-2007-2013.aspx>, <http://www.kamenec-tour.by/sotrudnichestvo.html>

¹¹⁶ <http://pl-by-ua.eu/contract.php?id=98>, https://www.funduszeuropejskie.2007-2013.gov.pl/NaborWnioskow/listabeneficjentow/Documents/Lista_beneficjentow_EWT_31032015.xls

¹¹⁷ <http://www.pl-by-ua.eu/contract.php?id=73>, http://beleuroregion.by/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=25:планета-идей---трансграничный-трансфер-знаниями-в-области-привлечения-инвестиций-для-развития-приграничного-туризма&tmpl=component



Appendix 2:

Questionnaires used for interviewing the various heritage actors

Questions for state bodies/state institutions

1. How many people work full-time with heritage in Belarus (according to the Ministry of Culture)?
2. Does the Ministry of Culture contribute to the broadening of the social functions of cultural institutions active in heritage (methodological recommendations, training, changing performance indicators)?
3. Who is most often the initiator of projects/activities related to cultural heritage? What is the role of cultural institutions in this? What is the potential of cultural heritage-related projects in terms of attracting external sponsors/workforce (foundations, volunteers, sponsorships, etc.)?
4. To what extent are public investments in projects/activities related to cultural heritage justified in the economic, social and cultural sense?
5. What projects related to cultural heritage were unsuccessful/not fully implemented? Why? What is the fate of initiatives/projects after their implementation? How sustainable are they?
6. Question to the Bureau for the Protection of Cultural Heritage: what type of alterations to monuments are most often submitted for approval? What is the total share and structure of commercial projects (catering establishments, services, hotels, offices, etc.) of the total number of applications? How does the expansion of the List of historical and cultural valuables of Belarus affect economic activity?
7. Are activities relating to the protection and rehabilitation of cultural heritage included in programmes of regional development/city comprehensive plans?
8. Do projects related to cultural heritage contribute to the sustainable development of Belarusian towns and regions? How is this manifested?
9. What is the potential of intersectoral cooperation in cultural heritage-related projects/activities (for example, with medicine, education, defence, construction, etc.)? Are there examples of successful/unsuccessful cooperation?
10. How are private-public partnerships implemented in cultural heritage-related projects/activities?
11. To what extent do cultural heritage-related projects/activities contribute to interregional, domestic and international cooperation?
12. If there are examples of such cooperation, what types of heritage or types of activities do they most relate to? How sustainable is such cooperation or are these one-time projects?
13. To what extent do cultural heritage-related projects/activities contribute to the inclusion of ethnic groups, minorities, people with disabilities?
14. Do heritage-related projects contribute to the establishment of new standards of cultural consumption/transmission (involving new art forms, social networks and new media, new technologies, etc.)?

Questions for museums and other state cultural institutions

1. Do museums work with specific communities (clubs, NGOs, some kind of citizen associations that can be described as communities)? If yes, with whom? What are the most promising communities in terms of cooperation?
2. Do communities themselves ever put forward cooperation initiatives? What is the nature of these proposals?
3. Do projects/initiatives/planned activities relating to the preservation and popularisation of cultural heritage have any additional social/economic/cultural development goals?
4. What is the fate of initiatives/projects after their implementation? How sustainable are they?
5. What cultural heritage-related projects were unsuccessful/not fully implemented? Why?
6. What is the potential of intersectoral cooperation in cultural heritage-related projects (for example, with medicine, education, defence, construction, etc.)? Are there examples of successful/unsuccessful cooperation?
7. How are private-public partnerships implemented in cultural heritage-related projects/activities?
8. What is the potential of cultural heritage-related projects in terms of attracting external sponsors/workforce (foundations, volunteers, sponsorships, etc.)?
9. To what extent do cultural heritage-related projects/activities contribute to interregional, domestic and international cooperation?
10. If there are examples of such cooperation, what types of heritage or types of activities do they most relate to? How sustainable is such cooperation or are these one-time projects?
11. To what extent do cultural heritage-related projects/activities contribute to the inclusion of ethnic groups, minorities, people with disabilities?
12. Do heritage-related projects contribute to the establishment of new standards of cultural consumption/transmission (involving new art forms, social networks and new media, new technologies, etc.)?



KOSAVA, 2016, Malejka

Questions for organisations active in the field of restoration and urban planning

1. How many architectural design/construction organisations in Belarus have the right to work with cultural heritage sites? What is the dynamics of their numbers and what related activities do they carry out?
2. Do projects/initiatives/planned activities relating to the preservation and popularisation of cultural heritage have any additional social/economic/cultural development goals?
3. To what extent are public investments in cultural heritage-related projects/activities justified in the economic, social and cultural sense? What is the fate of initiatives/projects after their implementation? How sustainable are they?
4. Who is most often the initiator of cultural heritage-related projects/activities? What kind of monument restoration takes place most often? What is the total share and structure of commercial projects (catering establishments, services, hotels, offices, etc.) of the total number of applications? What is the share of cultural and social projects?
5. Are restorations included in programmes of regional development/city comprehensive plans?
6. What is the economic potential of the restoration sphere in Belarus? Is it possible to say that work on cultural heritage sites (listed and not listed) is financially profitable? Who earns from restoration?
7. Is it possible to predict how many restorers/companies capable of working with monuments of architecture would be needed in Belarus in the event of economic growth and in connection with an increase in the number of listed monuments?
8. Who are the partners of restorers? Local communities/universities/historians and local historians/business? With whom are relations sustainable, and with whom are they negative? How are private-public partnerships implemented in projects/activities related to cultural heritage?
9. How does the expansion of the List of historical and cultural valuables of Belarus affect the performance indicators of restorers/economic activity in general?
10. What is the potential of intersectoral cooperation in cultural heritage-related projects/activities (for example, with medicine, education, defence, construction, etc.)? Are there examples of successful/unsuccessful cooperation?
11. What is the potential of cultural heritage-related projects in terms of attracting external sponsors/workforce (foundations, volunteers, sponsorships, etc.)?
12. To what extent do cultural heritage-related projects/activities contribute to interregional, domestic and international cooperation?
13. If there are examples of such cooperation, to what types of heritage or types of activities do they relate to most? How sustainable is such cooperation or are these one-time projects?
14. To what extent do cultural heritage-related projects/activities contribute to the inclusion of ethnic groups, minorities, people with disabilities?
15. Do projects related to heritage contribute to the establishment of new standards of cultural consumption/transmission (involving new art forms, social networks and new media, new technologies, etc.)?

Questions for NGOs

1. What are the dynamics of the quantity/quality of projects related to the heritage that are implemented? Can the number of such projects that were implemented in recent years be totalled up?
2. Do the regions have sufficient training to describe the problems, goals and objectives of projects related to cultural heritage so that they are relevant to the goals of social/cultural/economic development?
3. Do communities/initiatives ever propose cooperation initiatives in the area of cultural heritage? What is the nature of these proposals?
4. What is the fate of initiatives/projects after their implementation? How sustainable are they? What projects related to cultural heritage were unsuccessful/not fully implemented? Why?
5. To what extent are investments in projects/activities related to cultural heritage justified in the economic, social and cultural sense? Do projects related to cultural heritage contribute to the sustainable development of Belarusian towns and regions? How is this manifested?
6. Who is most often the initiator of projects/activities related to cultural heritage? What is the role of existing cultural institutions/other actors in this? How are private-public partnerships implemented in projects/activities related to cultural heritage?
7. What is the potential of intersectoral cooperation in projects/activities related to cultural heritage (for example, with medicine, education, defence, construction, etc.)? Are there examples of successful/unsuccessful cooperation?
8. What is the potential of projects related to cultural heritage in terms of attracting external sponsors/workforce (foundations, volunteers, sponsorships, etc.)?
9. To what extent do projects/activities related to cultural heritage contribute to interregional, domestic and international cooperation?
10. If there are examples of such cooperation, to what types of heritage or types of activities do they most relate to? How sustainable is such cooperation or are these one-time projects?
11. To what extent do projects/activities related to cultural heritage contribute to the inclusion of ethnic groups, minorities, people with disabilities?
12. Do projects related to cultural heritage contribute to the establishment of new standards of cultural consumption/transmission (involving new art forms, social networks and new media, new technologies, etc.)?

Question for commercial companies

1. What is the commercial potential of cultural heritage in Belarus? What are the most profitable types of businesses relating to its development? What types contribute to the employment of the largest number of people?
2. To what extent are such businesses sustainable? What is their development potential?
3. What businesses related to cultural heritage are still missing in Belarus? What businesses can appear, or on the contrary are in danger of disappearing, in the near future?
4. Do projects/initiatives/planned activities relating to the preservation and popularisation of cultural heritage have any additional social/cultural development goals? To what extent can such a business be socially-oriented?
5. How are private-public partnerships implemented in cultural heritage-related projects/activities?
6. Can businesses related to cultural heritage benefit from state planning? In what way this can be expressed?
7. What is the potential of intersectoral cooperation in projects/activities related to cultural heritage (for example, with medicine, education, defence, construction, etc.)? Are there examples of successful/unsuccessful cooperation?
8. Do cultural heritage-related business projects have specific features in terms of attracting initial funds/workforce/clients (work with foundations, volunteers, state)? What events/activities in this sphere directly/indirectly contribute to the development of business?
9. To what extent do projects/activities related to cultural heritage contribute to interregional, domestic and international cooperation?
10. If there are examples of such cooperation, to what types of heritage or types of activities do they most relate to? How sustainable is such cooperation or are these one-time projects?
11. To what extent do projects/activities related to cultural heritage contribute to the inclusion of ethnic groups, minorities, people with disabilities?
12. Do heritage-related projects contribute to the establishment of new standards of cultural consumption/transmission (involving new art forms, social networks and new media, new technologies, etc.)?

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